The 'Future Generation': National Identity among Young People in Wales

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A submission presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Glamorgan/Prifysgol Morgannwg for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2004

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Certificate of Research

This is to certify that, except where specific reference is made, the work described in this thesis is the result of the candidate. Neither this thesis, nor any part of it, has been presented, or is currently submitted, in candidature for any degree at any other University.

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Abstract

Sociological theorists conventionally see national identity as 'shaped' by large-scale social institutions that operate across a national territory. In this context national identity is a collective phenomenon produced by generic processes of cultural and political socialization. More recent research has, by contrast, turned the spotlight on the individual, with a specific emphasis on national identity being actively produced as an ongoing part of social life. This new body of work focuses on 'local' experiences and influences rather than on general 'national' processes such as state education systems and the media.

This thesis draws on work from both of these approaches. It considers the substantial body of work on national identity as 'shaped' by social institutions, and, in particular, concentrates on three areas that feature prominently in the literature: culture, history and land/territory. It also examines more recent research on national identity, exploring how it is understood among young people. The focus here is on national identity as the outcome of a process of interaction with life in an individual's locality and also as a result of wider influences such as education, media and, in particular, popular culture. The research presents a case study of 16-18 year olds living in the city of Cardiff and the south Wales valleys. This research explores the participants' views of and concerns about 'national culture', 'homeland' and 'national history'. Moreover, in light of work on globalization the study considers how young people view the significance of global and transnational influences for their locality and their nation.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge my thanks to all my friends and family who have given me encouragement, support, and positivity during these four years, especially Ena. I cannot fully express my gratitude to Dr Andrew Thompson for helping me to embark upon this PhD and his encouragement, guidance and for his enthusiasm and passion for national identity. Thank you especially to David Dunkerley for his support. I would also like to thank the late Rob Phillips for his expertise on history and education. My sincere appreciation to all the young people who participated in this study because without them I could not have produced such interesting rich data.

I would like to thank my parents for their enduring support and love. And finally, I would be remiss if I did not mention Nick for listening to endless conversations on National Identity, I am eternally grateful.

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Introduction

A poll carried out by ICM[i] on British Identity commissioned in September 2004 for the BBC Breakfast Time, asked 'are you proud to be British?' 83% responded positively, with only 4% saying they were 'not proud' to be British. However, 34% of respondents agreed that 'new cultures undermine tradition'. In the era of globalization, is national identity being weakened by the growth of communications and other networks which do not respect national boundaries? The ICM poll would seem to imply that people have a strong sense of national identity, but that a significant number of people are apprehensive of the changes that increased flows of people and information will bring about. The ICM survey suggests that pride in Britain remains widespread, however many writers consider Britishness to be problematic and subject to scrutiny because of the types of changes pointed out by the results of the ICM poll (Marr, 1999 and Nairn, 2000).

There is now growing discussion of the impact of globalization on the nation-state and more particularly on national identity. There appears to be a backlash against the forces of globalization both in the developed and the developing world, but even with this, is it inevitable that national identity will become less influential? This question constitutes a thread that runs throughout this thesis. For writers such as Featherstone (1990), Appadurai (1996), Castells (1996), and Bauman (1998) we are fast approaching the end of the nation-state. This dissolution of the nation-state does not seem evident at present, but in the long term the supposition is that national identity and the nation-state itself will begin to weaken. Empirical research carried out in the field, however, so far shows no significant erosion of national identity. This literature

suggests that the state continues successfully to reinforce national identity through governmental and non-governmental institutions. From this work it would appear that though people have become increasingly aware of other cultures, and in many respects accepting of them, this growing awareness does not seem to have greatly affected the way they view their national identity. National identity continues to be regarded as something of a 'natural' characteristic viewed as extending from the ancient past to a distant future. National identity does not seem to have been diminished to any significant degree by people's interactions in world cultures and with globalization. There seems, then, to be a slight discrepancy between many theorists' predictions of an increasingly globalized world and empirical studies which show a continuing, strongly sustained national identity. An illustration of this can be found in the European Union, where the single currency (across 12 out of 25 states), eases the free movements of goods, services and capital throughout the region, and where there have been deliberate attempts at cultural and political integration over the last fifty years. Attachment to the individual nation-states remains strong with comparatively little attachment felt to the European Union itself. This is in part because within the EU, and indeed other states worldwide, there have been concerted state responses to the forces of globalization to protect and bolster national identity.

If, across the globe, there is talk of a perceived dilution of national culture, the opposite would seem to be true in Wales. Over the last ten years there has been a marked increase in the expression of a specifically Welsh identity. Isobel Emmett's (1978) sociological study[ii] of Welsh youth culture in the 1960's among what she calls 'Blaenau Boys' showed that there were no cultural resources which were specifically Welsh, no famous Welsh pop groups, no Welsh television (in Welsh or English) and

no Welsh films with which they could identify. The participants in this study had to go to England in order to access any kind of youth culture with which they could identify. This situation continued almost unchanged until the early 1990's. The Welsh language television station S4C had begun in the mid 1980's and had, at least in part, fuelled a renewed interest in the Welsh language which had previously been in decline. In the early 1990's there was a marked surge in popularity of a number of Welsh pop acts which celebrated their Welshness overtly and for a period Wales was considered the cultural hotspot in Britain for popular music. By this time S4C was promoting films, youth culture and children's television programmes through the medium of Welsh. These factors contributed to a changed attitude among young people who began to feel that it is 'cool' and positive to be Welsh and that Welsh youth identity was a source of pride. Despite these changes, and indeed the broader growth in the sociology of youth and popular culture, Emmett's study is the only sociological study of youth culture in Wales. The later empirical part of this thesis draws on the views of young people in Wales as a case study to explore questions of national identity, and while this study is not an attempt to re-examine the same ground as Emmett's, there are interesting comparisons which show the sweeping changes in Welsh youth culture in the latter part of the twenty-first century.

Writers who have studied the changing influence of the Welsh language in Welsh society include Griffiths (1995) and Day (2002). Day's book *Making Sense of Wales* (2002) charts the changes in Wales economically, culturally and politically and especially the growth of the Welsh language, which he refers to as a "badge of distinctiveness [and] as an essential symbol of Welshness" (2002: 231). In the past ten years Welsh identity has come out of the margins, from being something of

significance to politicians or only at certain times of the year, to being a vibrant celebratory phenomenon. One of the biggest changes in this respect has been the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales, which has focused debate on devolution and has invigorated interest in Wales and its identity (see Wyn Jones, 2001). Wales is now a post-industrial society, and we are seeing expression of Welsh identity among young people and not seen to the same degree in their parents' generation. Wales has changed greatly over the last ten years due to underlying structural changes, as well as developments in the fields of culture and politics such as the Welsh-language movement, S4C and devolution, but the most significant change, however, is in the realm of popular culture where there is a vibrant Welsh 'scene' where previously one had not existed.

Guibernau defines a nation as "a human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past" (1996: 46-48). She identifies in this definition the three major topics which I will be addressing in this study of national identity: culture; land/territory; and history. These three features routinely occur in the literature and research, and are also the common facets that appear in people's opinions on the nation and national identity. Culture, land/territory and history lie at the core of national identity and, subsequently, of this thesis. Land is at the heart of all claims to nationhood; without some conception of a national homeland no nation could exist and national identity itself, at essence, involves attachments to place and to land. Any claim to national identity must also be supported by a history of the nation. People tend to define their national characteristics with reference to collective memories, to famous battles, events and individuals that collectively constitute the national past. Culture, by

comparison, is arguably a far more ambiguous facet of identity. Land can be demarcated on a map and history can, to some extent, be charted, but culture is more difficult to define, consisting as it does of a loose melange of elements which cross national borders and constantly change and get replaced. Nevertheless, it is one of the recurrent themes through which people define their national identity. In his classic study of national identity, Gellner (1983) sees the nation as being defined through culture, stating that a unified nation can only exist if all the members feel they belong to a common culture. Gellner sees our national identity as being defined through the culture into which we are born and our national identity as being shaped in turn by a common culture. Throughout this thesis I have sought to structure the complex issue of national identity by breaking down the relationship between people and their national identity into three basic processes. Firstly, how it is shaped. That is, the way it is conferred upon us or in which we acquire it. Secondly, how it is reproduced through everyday influences. Thirdly, how it maintains its integrity in the face of factors which could undermine it such as globalization. The three factors which I have identified as influences on national identity can also be considered as undergoing the three processes of being shaped, reproduced and sustained.

Throughout the literature on national identity there is a general consensus that national identity is not a natural phenomenon, but rather is a social construct. However, amongst social constructionists there are two distinct schools of thought. The conventional standpoint which is held by sociologists in the classical tradition such as Gellner (1983), Smith (1991) and Guibernau (1996) is that the facets of national identity, particularly history and culture, are conferred upon the populace by formal institutions such as education and the media under the influence of the state.

Elsewhere, Brubaker (1996) views national identity as being conferred on individuals by the state and suggests that under this regime it is difficult for individuals to see themselves as anything other than part of their national group. Even writers such as Billig (1995), who otherwise has a quite different approach from for example, Anthony Smith, who sees the primary conduit for nationalism as being the media.

Recently there has been a challenge to this 'top down' theory of the shaping of collective values, with writers such as Thompson and Day (1999) and Scourfield and Davies (2002) influenced by a more interactionist approach that places the emphasis on the individual. They address questions of how people perceive themselves as members of groups and how individuals actively construct their national identities within everyday life. In contrast to Gellner (1983) and Smith (1986, 1991), whose work is influenced by, among other sources, Durkheim and Weber, this more recent sociological approach to national identity is influenced by symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology, which sees identity being shaped by social actors in their everyday environment.

In this thesis the opening chapters, which examine the sociological literature from a constructionist perspective, address both of these schools of thought, concentrating on the history, culture and land/territory and how they are shaped, reproduced and sustained, specifically in light of globalization. The second part of the thesis presents the empirical findings of my research, concentrating on the way people understand their identity and the factors that influence their views. My emphasis is on actively asking people to explore, in turn, how people actually make sense of their national

identity. In doing so, my approach seeks to show that social interaction greatly influences the development of national identity.

Although the empirical case study in this thesis concerns the attitudes of young people in Wales, the thesis is not specifically about Welsh identity but instead seeks to draw out factors which influence national identity generally. I structure the thesis around the themes of culture, history and land/territory, but address the everyday sociological factors that influence national identity for the young people, among them school, family, friends and locality. My empirical work draws, as I will make clearer later, on interviews with young people aged 16-18 years of age, a demographic group which has received relatively little attention in the field of national identity, even though it has received a lot of attention in discussions of popular culture within the media. This thesis makes a contribution to knowledge by focusing on this underrepresented group, and by furthering the interactionist approach to the study of national identity. Few studies have undertaken a systematic empirical analysis of culture, history, and land/territory to explore their relative significance in influencing the shaping, reproduction and sustaining of national identity. I explore the relationship between the local and the national by examining people's localized conception and response to place (the sample area covered the city of Cardiff and the south Wales valleys). Although in the first half of this thesis I consider the institutional conferment of national identity, in the empirical chapters I concentrate on the everyday experiences of my sample group, addressing the less formal influences of national identity such as friends, family, the Internet and popular culture in the form of music, television and film.

This thesis is divided into two, connected parts. The first four chapters give an overview of the literature on the subject of national identity. The last four chapters present the results and interpretation of my empirical research on young people's perception of their own national identities in Cardiff and the south Wales valleys. Apart from Chapter Five, which sets out my methodological approach, the two parts of the thesis explore common themes. Thus, Chapters One and Six (the first chapter to draw on the empirical findings) are about national identity more generally, while Chapters Two and Seven discuss culture, Chapters Three and Eight analyze history and Chapters Four and Nine focus on land/territory. Chapter One discusses some key definitions of national identity and asks how people come to have a national identity. I draw upon the work of social theorists to debate how identity, once 'conferred', is shaped, reproduced, and sustained. Chapters Two, Three and Four cover culture, history and land/territory respectively, and consider how each influences national identity. I discuss how these are themselves shaped, reproduced and sustained and devote the last part of each chapter to a discussion of the impact of globalization. Chapter Five explains the reasoning behind my research methods, identifies the strengths and potential weaknesses of the empirical research and outlines the methodological techniques I employed. Chapters Six, Seven, Eight and Nine present the results of my empirical research, which was carried out among 168 young people aged 16-18 in focus groups of five members over an eighteen month period in schools in Cardiff and the south Wales valleys. The four chapters mirror the subjects of Chapters One to Four, i.e. national identity, culture, history and land/territory. I have taken the approach of selecting participants' responses, and analysing them in the light of the academic literature, with a view to discovering whether the opinions of the participants seem to reflect the arguments advanced by social theorists.

Overall, this thesis presents an interactionist account of national identity. Although national identity is clearly constructed by a combination of 'top down' and 'bottom up' factors, I maintain that the way forward in the study of national identity is to examine how the individual interprets and understands their own national identity through social interaction and negotiation. I also present the argument that, while globalization is an ongoing process, the influence of which is increasing, at this current point in time national identity shows little sign of diminishing.

Chapter One

National Identity: Themes and Perspectives

Over the last twenty years sociological studies have given increasing consideration to the various, cultural, political and social processes and institutions which shape national identity. It has traditionally been theorized that national identity is 'conferred' on individuals by social institutions such as state regulated education and broadcasting systems. However, in recent years writers have begun to consider the conferment and shaping of national identity in a different way. Writers such as Bechhofer *et al.* (1999), McCrone *et al.* (1999) and Thompson and Day (1999) focus on the way individuals define and understand their own national identity. This is termed by some writers as the 'local production of national identity' (Thompson and Day, 1999). This way of considering national identity is one which is supported in this chapter and throughout the thesis more broadly. This chapter examines four key ideas. Firstly, it considers various definitions and meanings of the nation and national identity as set out by some of the key writers in the field such as Gellner (1983), Hobsbawm (1990), Anderson (1991), and Smith (1996). Secondly, the chapter explores how national identity is taken to be conferred on the individual while also presenting some of the theories as to whether identity is inherited or learned, and covering concepts such as primordialism, sociobiology and 'race'. Thirdly, the ways in which national identity is shaped continually by a variety of social institutions is examined through the work of scholars such as Gellner, (1983), Smith (1991), Billig (1995) and Guibernau (1996). The agents of this shaping include institutions such as education systems and state policy more generally but also, more recently, influences from popular culture. Finally, the chapter looks at theories that move away from the idea of national identity as shaped by institutions, arguing instead for the need to

consider how national identity is actively constructed by the individual through narratives, discourses and social negotiation. This section will also introduce the concept of defining one's national identity through the 'Other'.

What is a 'nation' and 'national identity'?

If we are to gain an understanding of national identity we must first define what a nation is, not a straightforward question in itself. For Connor (1978) a nation is a collective of people who see themselves as a distinct group and "aspire to statehood of their own". This may be by virtue of shared history, a common language, an attachment to land or any cultural ties (1978: 382). Smith (1996a) extends this definition to include shared myths, memories, and a mass public culture and includes features of the modern nation-state such as a single economy, government and common legal rights for members. Perhaps the most recognised definition of nation beyond the field of nationalism studies is Anderson's idea of the 'imagined community'. Like Smith, Anderson stresses the significance of cross-class bonds as a crucial feature of the nation and places modern communication systems (particularly print capitalism) as establishing the foundation for the imagined community, which he refers to as marked by a feeling of "horizontal comradeship". The historian Cubitt (1998) similarly suggests that the nation permeates the whole existence of its members stating that "nations become inescapable; they become the natural forms through which history, geography and culture are experienced. National belonging becomes a total condition of being...one that is hard to shake off" (1998: 16). As with many sociological studies today, Cubitt thus highlights just how important national identity is to nearly all aspects of people's lives. Though all sociologists agree that nations are, in some way, constructs – contrary to what nationalist

arguments usually hold there are differences of opinion about the 'realness' of nations. Where Smith, for example, sees nations as formed over time, others like Calhoun (1997) view nations as products of nationalist discourse. Though again there is agreement that this does not affect the seriousness with which people sometimes think about their national identity, it does manifest itself in different ways of studying national identity, as will be apparent later in this discussion. Calhoun (1997) suggests that affiliation with a nation is an experience common to all. People, he argues, envisage the world as made up of nations and have a conception of their own nation's place in the political, social and historical structure, and, he contends, there are certain attributes which people associate with their own nation and other attributes which they identify as typical of other nations. Billig (1995) suggests that the nation is something which pervades all aspects of everyday life in a manner that is routine, ordinary and essentially banal. Attachment to the nation for Billig is continually reinforced through routines such as reading the paper and watching sport in which 'we' and 'they' are categorized by national affiliation. It is clear that people do form strong attachments to their nations and this is such a powerful phenomenon that we can consider people as having a national identity. Miller (1995) suggests that attachment to a nation is so important to people that they feel national identity is a natural phenomenon and that the nation and national identity are in some sense 'real'. Most people, he adds, do not consider the nation to be imagined or their identity to be a construction. We refer to this as the 'reification' of the nation and national identity.

Empirical studies support the view that national identity is not generally questioned by people, and, usually, it is treated as 'just' part of who they are. McCrone *et al.* (2002), for example, highlight that people do not tend to see their national identity as

changeable but instead commonly view it as unproblematical. As with writers such as Billig, who see national identity as a 'latent' characteristic which comes to the fore in salient situations, studies by McCrone and others (Thompson and Day, 1999; Kiely *et al.*, 2001; Brubaker, 2002) emphasise the significance of context. Thus Kiely *et al.* state that national identities are not "essentially fixed or given but depend critically on the claims which people make in different contexts and at different times" (2001:40-41). Similarly, sociologists such as Jenkins (1996), drawing on the 'subjectivist' and situational perspectives of writers such as Barth (1969) and Cohen (1982), point to how people will negotiate their experiences differently because no two people have had the same life experiences or have been brought up in the same way. These different views of national identity are not in opposition or mutually exclusive but they illustrate that there are a number of ways in which the concept is understood. Writers such as Giroux (1995) and Jenkins (1996) highlight that national identity is a social construct and this is a view that will be supported throughout the chapter. These and other theorists define and analyze national identity but tend not to question how and why we come to have a national identity in the first place or what it means to the individual to have a national identity.

As I have already highlighted, national identity can often appear to be a natural feature which all people possess. Gellner claims that in modern societies it seems that "a man must have a nationality as he must have a nose and two ears; a deficiency in any of these particulars is not inconceivable and does from time to time occur, but only as a result of some disaster, and it is itself a disaster of a kind" (Gellner, 1983: 6). Gellner, then, observes that people view national identity as universal, and taken-for-granted. This is indeed a widely held belief. British Prime Minister Tony Blair

(2000), in an essay concerning his Irish roots and identity, explains that his mother was born in the town of Ballyshannon, in the northwest county of Donegal, and attended school there before she moved to Glasgow in Scotland. Ireland, he remarked, "Ireland is in my blood". Instances such as this illustrate that national identity may be difficult for the individual to define, but is clearly often felt to be an inherited feature. Of course, politicians, as Billig explains, are noted for their use of nationalist ideas and themes for emotive purposes, but empirical studies (including this one) generate similar findings.

Many writers have opined that national identity can be ascribed through factors such as ancestry, place of residence or place of birth. Igntafieff, for example, claims that a 'home' is where your "ancestors are buried" (1995: 44-50). He seems to suggest that having ties to a place or nation will somehow 'confer' national identity on the individual. McCrone *et al.* (2002) recognise the importance of place for national identity and identify various identity markers; these include place of residence, language, accent, behaviour, upbringing and community. These and other 'identity markers' are used both to identify one's own links to the nation and also to define the national identity of others in one's own and other nations. What is important here is that these markers are usually seen to be 'objective' and because of possessing one or more attributes we must 'belong' to that nation. McCrone *et al.* suggest that when we articulate our own national identity people tend to underplay the importance of these markers, but will often refer to them when defining the attributes of others' national identities.

If national identity is 'conferred' in the sense that it is taken to be 'given' or seen as an inherited feature this would suggest that it is somehow passed down through the generations (as is captured by Tony Blair's remarks on his affiliation with Ireland) and is a natural extension of kinship and ancestry. This position is often equated with primordialist theories of national identity. As set out by writers such as Shils (1957) and Van de Berghe (1987), the primordialist position holds that there exist in all societies deep (and, for critics, irrational) attachments based on blood ties, race, language and religion. Ethnic identity, which underpins modern national identities, is deeply rooted in the historical experience of human beings to the point of being practically inherited. This theory is, of course, in contrast to the idea of national identity being a social construct. It is largely accepted by social theorists that national identity is in fact a construction, but it is necessary to consider primordialism as it is the way in which many people articulate what it means to have a national identity and how they imagine their national identity to be conferred. Linked to primordialism are sociobiological ideas. Van de Berghe (1987) makes the claim that nationalism is a result of ancestry, where a wider sphere of individuals are defined in terms of common descent. Sociobiological theories have been subject to extensive criticism by writers such as Eller and Coughlan (1993) and Grosby (1994). For example, Eller and Coughlan claim that assumed primordial attachments are not 'given', but instead are socially constructed. Unlike Van de Berghe (1979), they view ethnicity as a construct which is constantly revised in social life. Geertz (1963) is often referred to as a primordialist, however he makes the distinction between nationalism and ethnicity, claiming that ethnicity is a primordial factor which will usually generate a stronger bond between people than nationalism. For example, he argues that in tribal Africa

people may feel a stronger affiliation due tribal links than to ties based on ideas generated by a remote political nationalism.

Race, ethnicity and national identity are often closely aligned, and for this reason national identity is sometimes taken to have a genetic foundation and seen to be passed down through 'blood ties'. According to Rattansi and Westwood (1994), the process of 'racialization' articulates the boundaries of exclusion/inclusion around references to biological notions of 'stock', 'blood' and genetic attributes such as colour and intelligence. The sociobiological idea that national identity itself is conferred through ancestry in a similar way implies that membership of a nation, and therefore national identity, is defined by physical rather than cultural or social criteria. Cultural differences follow from inherent biological or genetic differences. As with theorists of the nation, social scientists argue that 'race' is a social construct (Miles, 1993). Although features such as skin colour (which we tend to designate as the primary indicator of race) are genetically determined, the way we categorize races and the perceived attributes of these races are continually socially determined. Solomos (1989), among others, agrees with this theory and considers racism (be it discriminatory racism or merely a perception of difference from those of another race) to be cultural rather than biological in origin. The other cultural dimensions of racism, such as references to the 'way of life', nevertheless mean that racism and nationalism are sometimes closely linked (Gilroy, 1987). As writers such as Gilroy and Barker (1981) have shown, politicians exploit this ambiguity. More widely, national groups are sometimes depicted in terms that are racial, such as depictions of Germans in Britain or Iraqis in the US. There is, then, a debate about the manner in which national identity is 'conferred'. While most social scientists argue that national

identity cannot be defined by ancestry or 'blood' nor packaged around a natural, inherent or given identity, national identity is often viewed as conferred rather than chosen. What is, therefore, not beyond debate is that people do have a national identity and therefore it must be developed in some way. However, the identity which is seen to be imprinted on us at birth or at school is not fixed for life; identities can change both throughout the lifetime and from situation to situation. These changes are brought about by social factors which influence and shape our national identities.

The shaping of national identity

Rather than see national identity as conferred, most sociologists see national identity as being shaped by social institutions such as the state, the education system, the mass media, as well as by popular culture. For some scholars it is education (Gellner, 1993), while for others it is the media (Anderson, 1991; Billig, 1995) that are the vital components in understanding the ways in which the nation and national identity are shaped. It was perhaps Kedourie's (1960) study of nationalism which, by placing emphasis on issues such as institutional change and ideology, first alerted sociologists to the 'invented' nature of the concept, and which in turn became a fundamental feature of the modernist approach to explaining nations (see Gellner, 1964, 1983). Against the modernist approach, Smith has argued, in many studies, that national identity is historic but is also shaped by the modern state, not least by the creation of a central education system and a set of legal rights for all citizens. Smith nevertheless holds that modern nations and national identities are based on pre-modern 'ethnic' community and affiliations. The 'ethnie', or pre-modern ethnic communities, underpins Smith's approach to how national identities have developed. He acknowledges that ethnic communities are constructed, and are consolidated by the

modern-state, and argues that they are built by successive generations of a population, from shared memories of the past and shared visions of the future. Therefore, for Smith not only are national identities shaped by modern institutions, they are also greatly influenced by historic ethnic myths and memories and elements of earlier cultural identities. Smith's view is shared by others, including Armstrong (1982), Grosby, (1994) and Llobera (1994). In addition, his emphasis on how the past influences or shapes the present is echoed in studies of national memory. Yet, most social scientists see national identities as shaped by forces that are very much modern. The consolidation of the ideas and narratives of the nation and nationhood has been linked to many modern factors including: the attempt by ruling elites and governments to create a new identity that would legitimise the enhancement of state power and the co-ordination of policy (Breuilly, 1993); the creation of a mass education system, of a common framework of understanding - ideas, meanings, practices - to enhance the process of state co-ordinated modernization (Gellner, 1983); and the emergence of new communication systems, particularly new media (such as printing and the telegraph), and a new imagined community (Anderson, 1983).

Gellner (1964, 1983, 1994) is arguably the leading proponent of the modernist perspective and claims that modernization eroded traditional societies, bringing about a transition from a society in which identity was ascribed by virtue of an individual's place in a social structure to one in which culture – a literate, high culture shapes identity. Gellner developed a theory of nationalism and its development and focused on the relationship between culture, nationalism and the industrialization process. According to Gellner, in modern societies a centralized education system produces and reproduces a 'national culture' into which most inhabitants of a national territory are socialized. Gellner's approach is therefore one which very much stresses the

importance of a large scale social institutions (or two – the state and education system) in forming nations and national identities. Gellner accepts that there may have been ethnic or folk cultures in pre-modern societies but argues that these are destroyed by the creation of a mass national culture managed by the modern state. Gellner argues that only an institution with the power of the state, and with the ability to manage the affairs of a large territory is capable of shaping collective identity in this way. Like Gellner, other writers have also stressed the importance of the modern public education system in shaping national identity. What is evident in reading Gellner and Smith is that national identity is viewed as something that can be shaped on a general level. Neither Gellner nor Smith are interested in seeing things from the perspective of those who are put though the education system. Instead there is a view that people are socialized into their national identity. This view is shared by more recent writers such as Guibernau (1996), who, like Gellner, underline the centrality of public education in shaping national identity. More particularly, specialists in the field of educational studies have also given detailed consideration to the relationship between national identity and education, though in these studies more attention is given to the history curriculum and to what is studied (see, for example, Phillips, 1998b).

Another social institution attributed with a pivotal role in shaping national identity is the mass media. For Anderson (1991) nations are based on 'print communities', in which newspapers enable people to place themselves within a wider set of social relationships by telling them about the experiences of those living in their territory. For Anderson, it is the 'print community' that enables people to feel part of the larger territory. For him, therefore, the media helps reproduce a feeling of membership of a

large territorial community on a daily basis by encouraging people to identify with others that they have not met but with whom they believe they share common experiences. According to Billig, the reproduction of national identity is grounded in habitual assumptions about belonging that pervade the media. The term 'we', for example, is used by politicians, journalists and even academics as a signifier of 'us' as members of the nation. It is assumed that 'we' the readers or viewers belong to the nation. This constitutes part of the way in which nations are 'naturalized', absorbed into a common-sense view about nations and belonging to a nation. According to Billig, through the use of newspapers, television news and political rhetoric the nation is displayed daily in the media. For him, nationalism pervades our everyday lives and we are all participants in the discourse of nationalism. Billig uses the term 'banal nationalism' to mean the "endemic condition" of the populace in western nations (1995: 6). He differentiates this from the 'hot' nationalism especially apparent in times of national upheaval. For him, "banal nationalism is characterized by a whole complex of beliefs, assumptions, habits representations and practices" (1995: 6). Like flags that fly, largely unnoticed, from public buildings across the national territory, which have become so much a part of our environment that we fail to consciously register them, so Billig argues the phrases and rhetoric repeated daily in the press, such as the references to 'national' weather and the distinctions between 'domestic' and 'foreign' news, are not noticed. They are not, however, without effect. Billig is critical of work which considers national identity only to be evident in moments of national celebrations and national crises. For him, the concept of nationalism has been restricted in use to describe practices that more explicitly make reference to the nation, overlooking its essentially mundane nature. For nationalism to have the appeal it so clearly has it must permeate everyday life. The media is the only

institution for Billig with the potential to bring about this widespread belief in the nation.

Another influence on national identity, closely linked to the mass media, which is only recently being recognised is popular culture. Edensor, in his book *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, (2002) examines how national identity is partly sustained through representations of 'spectacular' and 'mundane' cultural elements. His main focus is on the material, performative, spatial and representative expressions and experiences of national identity. Edensor explores a broad range of cultural forms and practices to explore national identity, with examples drawn from national car cultures and carnivals and sport, to national landscapes and 'homely' spaces. He places more emphasis on popular culture, rather than the discursive practices through which the nation and national identity are more commonly seen to be reproduced. For him, what sustains the power of national identity is the total flexibility of making links within what he terms the shared cultural 'matrix'. This means the connections between the domestic and the national, the location of places and performances.

Other writers have also turned the spotlight on to the role of popular culture in shaping national identity. For Westwood (2000), with modern populations being highly mobile, people who have moved away from their home country often take with them the accoutrements of their national identity. Her work examines the impact of mobility on North American urban cultures and the phenomenon of belonging to an emerging 'Latino/a culture' (2000:59). She suggests that one of the ways in which people feel a sense of belonging is by claiming the 'spaces of the city as their own';

through this they can develop their own sense of identity. According to Westwood, this identity is expressed through popular culture, Latino/a music, food and dance music and songs (2000:11). Westwood's study shows that popular culture is one of the influences on national identity, an idea that will be discussed more fully in Chapter Two.

The picture painted so far is one of national identity shaped through various institutions and social practices such as the state, the media, education and popular culture. While the weight of research suggests that these play a key part in the construction of national identity, more recently studies influenced by new directions in sociology have begun to suggests that nations and national identities have to be organized as much by individuals as by large social institutions.

The construction of the self and national identity

Writers such as Bhabha (1990), Hall (1996) and Wodak *et al.* (1999) argue that narratives play an important role in the construction of national identity. In his influential book *Nation and Narration*, Bhabha (1990) claims that nationhood is itself a narration that is discursively constructed. Others, such as Ram (1999), echo the idea that nations are narratives that are continually re-negotiated and disseminated by institutions (in De Cillia *et al.* 1999). For Hall (1994) this suggests that the reproduction of national narratives has the effect of forming and sustaining bonds between members of the nation and engagement with the national culture (in De Cillia *et al.* 1999). Wodak (1999) also sees national identity as a discursive element through the methodology of 'critical discourse analysis'[iii] (see De Cillia *et al.*, 1999). Wodak notes that national identities are "malleable, fragile, and, frequently ambivalent", as

they change according to "audience, setting, topic, and substantive content" (1999: 154). She also identifies national identity as a special form of social identity which is "transformed and dismantled, discursively "(1999: 154) The work of Wodak *et al.* is a linguistic analysis of the discursive construction of national identity, however there are some general outcomes which we can draw from this study. Firstly, people can have multiple national identities which can change or develop over time. Secondly, identities are discursively constructed narratives which require constant reinforcement and reproduction. Where Wodak's work differs from, for example, that of Bhabha is in the emphasis on personalized narratives rather than collective ones, or more especially textual analysis. For Wodak the concern is to show how people articulate their national narratives and how they locate themselves within their stories. Narratives are therefore ways of identifying ourselves in relation to significant others.

Along similar lines, Hall describes identities as the "names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past" (1990: 394). Hall has a particular personal experience of national identity. He describes his own experiences as a Jamaican who migrated to Britain in the 1950's, emphasising in particular the formative role that this transition played in moulding his sense of identity. As Hall notes, the experience of being permanently displaced from his place of origin and being forced to endlessly reconstruct himself through new narratives of identity resulted in his being 'aware of the fact that identity is an invention from the very beginning, long before I understood any of this theoretically.' (Hall, 1993a: 135). Hall suggests, however, that the process is not dramatically different from how others develop self-awareness. For him, nations are 'systems of cultural representation' through which an imagined community is interpreted: 'People

are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the idea of a nation represented in its national culture' (1996: 612). He also suggests that modern nations are 'culturally hybrid' (1994: 207). Hall (1996) emphasises that national identity is the creation of the inter-relationship between the individual and the collective. Identity, he argues, is never 'frozen' but is instead always undergoing change, depending on context and experiences. Crucial for Hall, and indeed for other social theorists, is how we define ourselves in relation to what we are not. As Hall remarks, identity is "always...a structured representation which only achieves its position through the narrow eye of the negative" (1991: 21).

There is a further influence on identity which complicates the matter. That is, that people define their national identity not only through who they are, but also through who they are not. For Triandafyllidou (1998), the 'Other' is a recurrent theme within the academic literature on nationalism. People's perceptions of their nation greatly rely on their perceptions of surrounding or neighbouring nations in relation to which they make a distinction between 'insiders' and the 'outsiders'. An argument made by many theorists is that there is often a specific outside nation or group which the insiders use as a comparison to themselves to define what they are not. Triandafyllidou claims that this idea has been much debated but in empirical work, the relationship between perceptions of national identity and the positioning of the 'Other' has been given relatively little attention. The 'Other' against which people define their national identity need not necessarily be a member of another nation or live in another country. For example, it has long been argued in sociological debates that many people in England implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) define Englishness in racial or ethnic terms (see, Miles and Dunlop 1986). Research indicates that, in

England, the discourses of race and nation combine to produce a definition of Englishness in terms of racialized boundaries, so that some individuals who are born in England will always be considered to be alien Others (Miles and Dunlop, 1986; Jacobson, 1997a, 1997b; Modood, *et al.*, 1997).

In recent years there has been a growing, though still limited, number of empirical studies (Barrett, 2002; Scourfield and Davies, 2003) that focus on how children and young people define themselves in relation to people in other nations. Barrett (2002), for example, has investigated children's subjective sense of national identity from a psychological and developmental perspective. This empirical investigation focuses on a variety of elements, from children's identification with their national group to exploring how they develop and account for their geographical knowledge. One of his primary concerns is asking at what age can children conceptualize differences between nations? He found that while younger children have positive feelings towards all nations, as the children grow up these feelings become more ambivalent. This shows that national identity has a learned element, and that part of this learned element is the development of a negative feeling towards people of other nations. Barrett's study tends to support the idea that people define their national identity, at least in part, through the role of the 'Other'

Some writers, then, concentrate on the way identities are represented in terms of a difference (Carrington and Short, 1995; Modood *et al.*, 1997; Condor, 2000). The implication here is that national identity is not something wholly essential or intrinsic to a certain group of people, but is based on a differentiation or opposition with a defined boundary, physical or cultural, between 'us' and 'them'. The social

psychologist Condor (2000) in her research on 'Pride and Prejudice' highlights that sometimes people may disassociate themselves from their national identity. Her study of English people's attitudes to their own country found that there was a reticence to "adopt an explicitly national footing or to display a sense of patriotic national pride" (2000:175). This was due to nationalism being linked with jingoism, intolerance and racism. However, Condor did not conclude that respondents had a lack of national identity. From this study we can see that in claiming a national identity people actively position themselves, and their national identity especially, against those who they see to represent a type of 'English' they cannot identify with.

Scourfield and Davies's (2003) study on children aged eight to eleven in Wales similarly explores how individuals define and use categories of national identities. In some parts of Wales Englishness is a contentious issue due to inward migration, while England often features as the 'Other' against which Wales is defined. Scourfield and Davies found that several children who were of English origin, but who could pass as Welsh, were reticent to admit their Englishness in a focus group situation. They feared, Scourfield and Davies suggest, that being seen as English was not approved of by other children, a finding that appears to illustrate that even at an early age people are sensitive to national differences. However, this did not apply to the recently immigrated children who did not feel they could pass themselves off as Welsh. Several of the examples in Scourfield and Davies's study (involving English and other national identities) show that the children in the study were very aware of the concept of difference and this often manifested itself in a reticence to reveal difference in front of the group. Their study, then, shows children actively negotiating their national identity and attachments to places and cultures. Although the catalyst for this

negotiation was the interview setting, nevertheless it is evident in this study that the children were already beginning to use categories of national difference to define themselves and others.

In addition to defining one's national identity through the external 'Other', there can be, as I indicated briefly above, internal divisions within a population related to locality which will also contribute to the process of identity formation and management. Paulgarrd's (2000) study of the impact of globalization on life in rural parts of Norway found that while young people were engaged with global networks such as the Internet and the media, living in rural communities they did not consider themselves as 'modern' compared to their city dwelling peers. They did not feel that this participation in globalizing networks impacted strongly on their local identity, but they did believe it had, in various ways, affected the Norwegianness of those living in urban areas. Paulgarrd's argument is that by contrasting themselves in relation to other young Norwegians they sustained a stronger sense of Norwegian identity, one not greatly affected by outside, 'modern' influences. Other recent studies (Livingstone, 1998) also highlight how young people adapt to globalizing influences, especially in the form of cultural and media forces, but maintain local and national identities by positioning themselves in distinction to others. Globalization therefore assists national identity maintenance through making people more aware of the 'Other'.

The emphasis on qualitative studies of national identity reflects a move towards treating national identity as something which is produced by people as much as by institutions. Thus, national identity, rather than seen as shaped, is something which is

seen as being constructed sociologically. Both approaches are important for national identity, however the empirical research uses a more 'bottom up' way of studying national identity rather than the 'top down' approach preferred by Gellner and Smith. Writers such as Bechhofer *et al.* (1999); McCrone *et al.* (1999), and Thompson and Day (1999) all use a 'bottom up' approach to study how individuals actively claim, negotiate and construct national identity.

As this thesis has demonstrated so far, the concept of national identity is rather ambiguous and subject to considerable debate and interpretation, particularly over how it develops. Before I further examine how individuals claim to have a national identity, it is necessary to reflect on the concept of identity and the claims that arise from this phenomenon. Brubaker and Cooper (2000), in their investigation of the concept of 'identity,' argue that references to 'identity' in the academic literature are vague. They propose to interpret identities as "identifications" and "self-understandings". They suggest that forming 'identity' is based on establishing "groupness", finding commonality and a process of connecting with others. Brubaker and Cooper use the term "groupness" to reinforce the idea that individuals are real in a way that groups are not.

Brubaker (2002) offers a critical analysis of 'groupism' and suggests alternative ways of theorizing ethnicity without calling upon the descriptions of bounded groups. He proposes conceptual strategies that focus on "practical categories, cultural idioms, cognitive schemas, discursive frames, organizational routines, institutional forms, political projects, and contingent events" (2002: 167). This conceptual critique, he argues, has implications for the ways in which policymakers and NGOs, journalists,

and researchers address 'ethnic conflict' and 'ethnic violence'. Brubaker, appears to (re)construct ethnicity in four ways: by shifting the analytical focus from identity to identifications; from groups as entities to group-making projects; from shared culture to categorization; and substance to process. Brubaker puts forward the suggestion that that ethnicity, race, and nations are not tangible concepts but perspectives on the world, ways of seeing, interpretation and representation.

Bechhofer *et al.* examine national identities amongst elite groups in Scotland and highlight how writers such as Smith (1991) and Miller (1995) tend to focus on the "national" elements of nationalism rather than on "identity" (1999: 517). They also claim that there has been a tendency in the literature on nationalism to believe that national identity is simply conferred upon individuals by the nation-state. Bechhofer *et al.* suggest that more research should be placed on "how individuals construct and mobilise national identity or identities" (1999: 517). They see the construction of national identity as an interactive process in which people can pro-actively build their sense of identity under the influence of social and cultural institutions but maintaining their sense of "who they are and who they want to be" (1999:530). Bechhofer *et al.* advocate a 'bottom up' approach to the study of national identity and view it as a method of interaction.

Drawing on findings from the same sources, McCrone *et al.* (1999) claim that there is a lack of research concerning the ways in which people make sense of and negotiate what it means to have a national identity. McCrone *et al's* research focuses on the national identities of estate managers and landowners in Scotland and asks what it means to claim a Scottish identity. McCrone *et al.* selected these two groups for the

study as both operated in contentious fields related to Scottish identity, i.e. the land and Scottish culture. Both groups had a vested interest in affiliating themselves with Scotland and a Scottish identity. The study explored how these individuals perceive themselves and others and, in turn, how they felt others perceive them. For Scots whose claim to Scottishness is unambiguous in terms of birth, ancestry and residence the question of identity was relatively unproblematic. However, the study found that for individuals whose Scottishness was not so straightforward because of accent, education or socialization, there was annoyance expressed towards those who questioned their claim to Scottishness, as they therefore felt the need to accentuate their Scottish credentials in order to support their claim. McCrone *et al.* conclude that there are a variety of ways in which people claim and support their claim to national identity, but that these are largely negotiated through social interaction and therefore may vary depending on the situation.

Elsewhere, Thompson (2001) also argues that national identity is actively constructed by the individual, taking further this idea that, though people identify what they see as objective properties of the nation, it is really only through personal experiences and interaction that the nation and categories of national difference become meaningful. For Thompson, the idea of a common culture into which individuals are socialized is a misleading way to consider how identity is constructed, arguing instead that national identity would be better investigated by an empirical 'bottom up' approach centred on the individuals negotiation and interactions through which they define and understand national identity; he refers to this as "the local production of national identity" (2001: 24). He suggests that this way of thinking about the construction of national identity will lead to a fuller understanding of why and how national identity fulfils a role of

such social significance. More specifically, he argues that it is only by paying attention to the contextual nature of national identity that we come to understand the process of how individuals actively identify with some, while distancing themselves from others. This is, he maintains, a basic sociological process.

Thompson and Day (1999) first used the idea of the 'local production' of national identity to argue that studies should focus not on the impact of macro factors such as religion, education or politics to the detriment of actual life experiences. The focus, they maintain, should be on the way that identities are constructed through a myriad of everyday experience and 'ordinary' social interaction. Drawing on the findings of empirical research conducted in north Wales to explore 'the local' dimensions of national identity they show how national identities are continually embedded in social life. They found that Welshness as a category is often 'contested' in the sense that while some individuals may claim Welshness, they were also aware that others would argue that they are not Welsh, or that they are 'less Welsh' than themselves. For example, some people in north Wales use the terms 'Bangor-Welsh' to describe those that they do not consider fully Welsh. This, Thompson and Day maintain, shows that there are 'fuzzy frontiers' between nations, and that there is a perceived 'middle group'. This shows that people actively think about national identity in a way which is more complex than simply inclusion and exclusion. Thompson and Day conclude that people choose to include or exclude people from their national identity based on what they perceive to be common assumptions about the "category of national identity as they understand others to use it" (1999: 42). They also state that national identity is a fluid entity which changes in a complex manner of experiences, settings and situations.

There is clearly a complex interplay of factors which influence the perception of national identity, both for the individual's self-perception and the way in which we categorize and judge others' national identity. The idea that national identity is 'shaped' in the way conventionally understood by theorists of nationalism, that is by large-scale social institutions, constitute one way of understanding this process. Another, as I have outlined, concentrates on national identity as experienced and 'managed' by individuals. Most theorists who work with this latter approach do not see the individual in isolation from wider society, rather the emphasis is on exploring how national identity is a product of social life, produced as part of the way in which people understand their social world.

Conclusion

The nature of the nation and national identity are very basic considerations, as both pervade all aspects of our lives. They are not necessarily always at the forefront of our minds, but they influence our choices, interaction and opinions more often than when national identity is visibly on display. The chapter has discussed the various ways in which the nation and national identity have been defined by some key writers in this field. Among the general population there seems to be a strong perception that both the nation and national identity are natural entities which have existed since antiquity and that attachments are 'given' and taken-for-granted. However, the academic literature would seem to indicate that, despite this widespread reification of the nation, both nation and national identity are in fact social constructs built around social interaction by individuals but also influenced by cultural institutions and hierarchies.

There is debate in the literature as to the extent to which national identity is conferred by society and to what extent it is constructed by the individual. Traditionally, academic literature on the nation and national identity has focused on the ways in which this shaping is brought about by institutions. These clearly play an influential role, but, more recently, there has been a change in emphasis to a focus on the way that individuals actively make decisions about their own identity by drawing upon the narratives and discourses of the nation and also by using their own experiences. People tend to define their own identity through references to perceived differences between those of their own nation and some defined 'Other'. National identity, therefore, is an extremely complex and multifaceted area of study, which is not a simple matter of self-definition. In order to extend the debate on the nature of national identity more research needs to be undertaken on national identity and to what extent it is constructed by the individual.

The following chapters are principally concerned with the shaping, reproducing and sustaining of national identity with reference to the concepts of culture, territory and history. The remaining four chapters will present my empirical research among young people in Wales with reference to the same framework.

Chapter Two

Culture and National Identity

Though in discussions of the nation and national identity much attention is given to the subject of culture, theories tend to focus principally on 'high' culture and on related matters such as invented traditions and ceremonies. While 'high' cultures are certainly relevant to the study of national identity, little research addresses the more dynamic ways in which national identity and the nation are experienced and understood through popular culture. This chapter explores the relationship between national identity and culture, focusing on popular culture in more detail. I begin by looking at several definitions of culture and popular culture, focusing on writers such as Hall (1996), Williams (1989), and Barker and Galasinski (2001), all of whom have highlighted the relationship between national identity, culture and popular culture. The chapter then examines some key writers on nationalism who have contributed to discussions of national identity and culture (Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1986; Anderson, 1991). I will argue that these writers fail to sufficiently take into account popular culture and focus principally on the traditional and 'high' forms of culture. More recently theorists such as Billig (1995) and Edensor (2002) explore the routine reproduction of nationalism through the 'popular' forms of culture such as the media, cuisine and film. The third section uses a wide range of examples from music, film and television to emphasise the ways in which these institutions help reproduce and promote national identity on a global, national and local level. Finally, the chapter considers the impact of globalization for culture and national identity and highlights the extent to which we have reached a global culture. Discussions which have centred on the Americanization of cultures, hybridization and deterritorialization of cultures

will be examined and the possibility of the erosion of local and national cultures due to globalization will also be raised.

Culture and popular culture

Many writers use the word 'culture' to refer to consumption of goods and activities such as fine cuisine, art, certain styles of literature and music. Some label this as 'high' culture to distinguish it from 'low' or 'popular' culture, meaning non-elite consumption goods and activities. Culture, according to Edensor (2002), is a fluid term which has a variety of meanings. This has left theorists unable to agree on a specific definition. There may be a variety of different definitions of culture, but for the purpose of this chapter I want to principally consider the relationship between popular culture and national identity. Williams' (1989) famous aphorism that 'culture is ordinary' describes culture as a way of life which includes everyday meanings, values, norms, materials, myths and symbolic goods. For Williams, culture is not something which can be accessed by elites only, but by everyone. Alongside the idea that 'culture is ordinary' is the notion that, for Williams, culture also provides 'personal meanings' (1989: 4). In this way, Hall (quoted in McQuail, 1994) claims that different groups will develop different cultures through which they make sense of the world. Making a connection between national identity and culture, he suggests that national identity itself is an identification with shared cultural elements, such as literature, history and popular culture. Hall claims that in order for these shared cultural elements to produce a coherent national identity, it is necessary for many people within the nation to view them in a similar light, which is different from the ways in which those elements are seen by those outside the nation.

Until relatively recently, sociologists have to some extent understood culture and societies as singular, bounded and internally integrated. The result of this is that sociologists assumed that people normally inhabit only one social world or culture at a time. These sociologists also believed that, in the past, societies were homogenous, and thus national identity was seen as something which is fixed over time. However, this idea is based primarily on a concept of 'high' culture (see Gellner, 1983). These theories rely heavily on a general sociological belief that people are unproblematically socialized into their national culture. According to Edensor (2002), many of the theorists' views of culture and national identity focused on 'official' and 'high' cultures because popular culture was viewed as insignificant when considering national identity. In recent decades popular culture has come to be regarded as an important area of study which includes many non-national forms and is seen as more fluid and dynamic than 'high' culture. This raises some questions concerning culture and the extent to which one can or cannot speak of culturally distinct nations and fixed national identities. Thus, Calhoun (1995) states that theorists have overlooked the fact that a person can be a member of multiple social groupings and subscribe to multiple cultures.

When considering 'national culture' some writers tend to reify the nation, as if different cultures can be identified and demarcated according to a set of preconceived national characteristics. For example, Guibernau claims that the "nation represents the socio-historical context within which culture is embedded and the means by which culture is produced, transmitted and received" (1996: 79). If this is the case then culture and national identity are fixed instead of dynamic and fluid. This brings us to the idea that cultures are either homogenous (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm and Ranger,

1983) or heterogeneous (Barker and Galasinski, 2001). This is clearly a matter of debate, but I will argue along similar lines to Barker and Galasinski that cultures are not static entities but are instead constantly transforming.

According to Hall, there is a dichotomy surrounding popular culture, which he refers to as "consent and resistance" (1996: 68-81). Hall claims we embrace popular culture, but at the same time it is rejected on the grounds of being of limited value. Clearly, the more people that are exposed to any cultural element, the greater impact that element will have on society, and he suggests that a shift is taking place, with the distinction between 'high' and 'low' culture becoming blurred. Edensor (2002) highlights that governments and national elites have traditionally reinforced the idea that nations should have a 'high' culture. The national institutions of 'high' culture such as opera houses, art galleries, national theatres and international concert halls still "remain marks of status" (2002: 15). These 'high' cultural institutions remain at the heart of the public projection of many nations and at present are still important for the nation's identity, however there is growing debate about the relevance of 'high' culture for national identity.

There is also some debate over popular culture and the possible emergence of a globalizing mass culture, synonymous with an Americanized culture. One cannot talk about culture or popular culture without mentioning globalization, McDonaldization or the Americanization of cultures. These phenomena, it is claimed, form part of the changing natures of cultures in a world where technology, information and communication play important roles in the construction of identities and cultures. Barber (in Ritzer, 1996) argues that the growing global technological and economic

forces create a popular culture which 'hypnotizes' people; he uses fast food and computer technology as examples. This, according to Barber, will create one homogenous 'global theme park', one 'McWorld' joined together by entertainment, information and communication. Ritzer's (1998) 'McDonaldization' theory itself highlights the link between the foods we desire and the cultural values fixed in them. The McDonaldization theory is important because Ritzer identifies a familiar trend towards a universal culture dominated by American culture. He calls this "everyone's second culture" (1998: 89).

There are a variety of debates surrounding culture, popular culture and national identity. My aim in this first section is not to explore the relationship between 'high' and popular culture but rather to focus on how they each link to national identity. Both 'high' and popular culture have a particular relationship with national identity and each play a different role. Culture has a complex relationship to national identity and cannot be viewed as a homogenous attribute – there can be many variations even within the same milieu. Viewing culture as bounded, unchanging and fixed can be very problematic; alternatively recognising culture as heterogeneous, fluid and changing can play a positive and constructive part in our understanding of national identity.

The 'construction' of culture and national identity

Several writers (Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1991) discuss the ways in which culture is constructed. The previous chapter touched on Gellner's theories of nationalism and the modern origins of the nation. His account of culture is concerned with the modern formation of national identity and focuses on what he terms 'high' cultures (1983:

56). He claims that the state promotes the creation of a 'high' culture through a centralized education system and that this combination of a common culture and education through the state's intervention produces modern nations and nationalism. He further argues that in order for individuals to form a coherent society it must be "one in which they can all breathe and speak and produce; so it must be the same culture" (1983: 38). Gellner acknowledges the importance of national identity and culture and claims that "national identity is intrinsic to the human person and national culture is the communicative basis of a mobile, extensive, and socially differentiated industrial society of strangers" (in Guibernau and Hutchinson, 2001: 75). For Gellner, an industrial society promotes cultural homogenization and it is this development that generates a new, national consciousness – a feeling of belonging which Gellner calls nationalism. For him, "a high culture pervades the whole of society, defines it, and needs to be sustained by the polity. That is the secret of nationalism" (1983: 18).

While Gellner is concerned with a 'high' culture, Anderson (1991) focuses on print media. Anderson argues that it was the emergence of what he calls 'print capitalism' that gave rise to the possibility, through the common printed form, of people imagining themselves as members of the same nation. The newspaper in particular produced a shared set of interests with which readers could identify on a daily basis. The development of the press, according to Anderson, helped to generate a feeling of belonging by encouraging the same thoughts at the same time among members of a national population. Anderson's main concern was print media and literature, but his work does not take into account the multiple ways in which nations are imagined. According to Edensor (2002), Anderson's work relies too heavily on the historical

view of print and does not consider television, radio, fashion or popular music. Though it is possible to see how Anderson's argument might be developed to analyze the classical era of public service broadcasting his book seems dated in an age dominated by consumer culture.

Moving away from the print media, writers such as Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) focus on ceremonies and traditions of the nation but claim that the nation is a modern construct. These writers focus on the ways in which the keeping of traditions helps to create the illusion of primordiality and continuity, and hides the fact that nations are recent phenomena. Many of these traditions, they argue, are pageants and rituals that were devised in the nineteenth century by European elites. Hobsbawm and Ranger discuss the cultural processes through which national elites construct an ancient national lineage which is considered valuable by the populace. Ceremonies and selective cultural forms come to be seen as ancient traditions, an important theme that persists in the contemporary constructions of national identity.

Anthony Smith's (1986, 1991, 1995, 1998) approach is rather different to the repetitive arguments put forward by Gellner and by Hobsbawm and Ranger. Smith's analysis is based on the idea that nations emerge out of pre-existing ethnic communities, and is particularly critical of Gellner and Hobsbawm and Ranger and their insistence on the modernity of nations. He acknowledges that there is no blueprint for constructing an official account of national culture and believes that nations draw on a diverse selection of cultural resources. According to Smith (1998), culture is dynamic; it is based on traditions, symbols, images, myths and memories which differentiate insiders from outsiders. Smith also refers to a 'common mass

public culture' (1991), which he identifies as cultural elements such as passports, capital cities, customs and heroes. While he seems to acknowledge the 'popular' forms of culture his work is based around more traditional cultural resources and official versions of culture. For example, he talks about intellectuals such as writers, historians and scholars creating national culture by contributing to 'high' and 'official' culture.

Recent accounts of national identity and culture have started to address a different set of issues, concerned with how national identity is constructed through the everyday and in popular culture (Billig, 1995; Edensor, 2002). These writers deconstruct high and low culture in a similar way, looking at cultures as a whole without making the distinction between them, which they see as a problem of other theoretical work. Billig's Banal Nationalism has made an important contribution to the study of the relationship between national identity and culture by juxtaposing the ideas of national identity and the everyday experience. One of the ways in which national identity is constructed for Billig is through the daily media, which, according to him, creates and sustains the idea of 'we' and 'us' as members of a nation. He discusses how nations are 'flagged' and analyzes how cultural institutions, such as the media and sport construct images of the nation and national identity. Edensor (2002) undertakes a similarly wide-ranging analysis of national identity and popular culture in his book *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday life.* His work examines how national identity is represented, performed, spatialized and materialized through popular culture and in everyday life. For Edensor, national identity is revealed to be inherent in the things we often take for granted, such as landscapes, eating habits, tourism, cinema and music. He argues that national identity is still a powerful element

of personal identity because it is "fixed in the popular and everyday" (2002: vi). He considers national identity to be made up of a huge 'cultural matrix'. In some way this analysis is akin to Billig's focus on banal nationalism, though Edensor's emphasis is on the cultural, rather than the discursive practices through which the nation is reproduced. The most important contribution of Edensor's work is to show that national identity can be seen within the local, through performances such as dance and theatre and mundane practices such as eating. He also criticizes writers such as Gellner, Smith and Anderson for presenting a top-down approach to culture rather than a bottom-up approach which focuses on popular cultural forms and practices.

Writers such as Gellner (1983), Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Smith (1986, 1991) and Anderson (1991) each address the connection between culture and national identity. Gellner (1983) and Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) see culture as being created by an elite of intellectual and/or political groups. The culture that these groups influence is the national 'high' culture. These groups have much less influence over popular culture, yet through the mass media popular culture has played an increasing part in our everyday lives. This shift in emphasis has not led to an erosion of 'high' culture, which is still maintained by the political elite. For example, the construction of a national Welsh opera has been an ongoing debate in the National Assembly for Wales. A similar debate could not be imagined occurring over the setting up of a popular cultural venue such as a multiplex cinema. The writers, above all, seem to make the assumption that 'high' culture is the main influence in shaping cultural identity. I would argue that, since many people's lives remain untouched by 'high' culture whereas popular culture can be accessed by anyone, it is popular culture which has a more direct and significant impact.

Writers such as Billig and Edensor have attempted to address the problems of culture and national identity by deconstructing notions of national culture. While Billig is concerned with postmodernism, the United States and nationalism, Edensor has addressed the multiple ways in which culture and national identity can be read and has included popular interests such as films and motoring. According to Edensor (2002), the 'unspectacular' production of national identity and popular culture in everyday life needs to be addressed in more detail. However, Billig and Edensor's work is rather theoretical and focuses more on the developments of national identity and culture than empirical analysis of the ways in which popular culture constructs a sense of national identity.

The reproduction of culture and national identity in film, music and television

In all the popular cultural forms, including music, television and film, we can see reference to and celebration of national identity. Recently there has been a trend for more overt portrayal of national cultural references, particularly in film. This section examines these three forms of expression and how they reinforce and reproduce concepts of nationhood.

Television, soap operas and national identity

Barker (1999) claims that the influence of television has become so significant that it is integrated into people's everyday lives, and, as most television scheduling is organised on a national basis, it facilitates a routine shared by people across the nation. Barker gives the examples of *Coronation Street* and *Eastenders* which are both watched regularly, and at the same time, by a significant proportion of the

population of the UK, an argument that echoes Anderson's (1991) theory of the impact of print media. Soap operas of this sort give the sense of providing some element of a common cultural frame of reference, a shared community to which the people of the nation belong. For this reason, television is a potentially powerful unifying force. Barker (1999) also states that audiences with different cultural identities will interpret television programmes in their own specific ways. This idea is borne out by the study of *Dallas*[iv] undertaken by Libeas and Katz (1991) who examined the cross-cultural dimensions of viewing and found a critical difference in the interpretation of the programme by Americans and Russians. Americans saw *Dallas* as being escapist entertainment with no particular political message, whereas the Russians tended to view *Dallas* as a distorted representation of the capitalist West. This would imply that audiences use their own cultural resources as a standpoint from which to interpret popular culture.

Radcliffe and Westwood (1996), in their studies of popular culture and society in Latin America, found television to be a vital element in forming national identity. Their study focuses on the telenovelas[v], a form of television programme shown in Latin America. The grand themes of the telenovelas bring together histories of nations and states through soap operas, news programmes and films. In the telenovelas national identity is strongly accentuated. According to Radcliffe and Westwood, the significance of the telenovelas, is that they construct a national space, shared in time and place by viewers. There are also a series of cultural references in which people can share and which create a sense of belonging which is crucial to the ongoing reproduction of national identities. Through Radcliffe and Westwood's (1996) study, and the work of Westwood and Phizacklea (2000), we can see how the

telenovelas provide a link between the self and the social and a means to frame the self within a national context. This community reinforcement through television is a worldwide phenomenon.

In recent years there has been an explosion of what has been termed reality television programmes which have been syndicated world-wide. The formats of reality television programmes such as *Big Brother*[vi], *Survivor*[vii], and other shows such as *Who Wants to be a Millionaire*[viii] have been exported across the globe. For example, Germany has versions of *Who Wants to be a Millionaire* and *Big Brother*, as does India, China and America (Sirvastava, 2001). This illustrates that the popular cultures of different countries across the globe interact and share values and ideas.

Reality TV formats appear to have similar appeal across the globe, and are understood on the same level by many and varied cultures. However, they typically reflect the cultural values and norms of their countries of origin and the individual shows are not widely exported, except between countries with similar mores, Big Brother a Dutch format, for example has been exported to many countries, but the shows themselves tend to be shown only to domestic markets. While these shows do not necessarily show a sense of nationhood or national identity they do form an integral part of television and popular culture.

Popular music[ix] *and national identity*

Perhaps the most common way in which music is associated with national identity is through national anthems. According to Bennett[x], national anthems provide a "common anchoring point for a range of different activities, customs and traditions

relating to a nation and its people" (1997: 1). Taking the example of Britain, Bennett cites the Queen's Christmas speech and sporting events as examples of occasions when the national anthem is used to promote national feeling. Music, then, is one of the crucial mediums through which individuals living in particular countries are able to situate themselves both nationally and internationally.

Bennett discusses the rise of 'Britpop[xi]' in the 1990's, which he saw as reasserting Britain's "trend-setting role" in the world of pop music (1997: 8). This resurgence of interest came to be known in the press as 'Cool Britannia'. According to Bennett, 'Britpop' promoted very particular images of British national identity. He cites the example of the song 'Parklife' by the group *Blur* which paints a picture of working class London life. Bennett recognises that pop music is a form of expression in which ideas can be expressed without any fear of criticism. The cultural icons of the Britpop movement were primarily white and the picture of Britain that they portrayed through their music did not reflect any of the diversity of multiculturalism in society. However, among young people in Britain there has been a slight change in the Britpop movement, which has started to engage with wider forms of music and a more diverse range of ethnic and cultural influences (see Bennett, 1997). Bennett's (2001) own work has focused on hip hop culture in the North of England, where he found that young people are creating their own identity through rap, once viewed as a 'black' cultural form. Cultural influences such as reggae have allowed young people to create their own hybridized forms of cultural identity which are different from their parents. This has, according to Bennett, encouraged academics to reassess 'British culture'. Overall, Bennett does not view the Britpop phenomenon as a "return to

nationalism" but a particular version of Britishness which emerged in the 1990's alongside "other possible versions of national identity and youth culture" (1997: 11).

Following 'Britpop' a similar phenomenon in popular music was identified in Wales. Known as 'Cool Cymru', it was typified by bands such as *The Manic Street Preachers, Catatonia, Super Furry Animals* and *The Stereophonics*. Perrins (2000, in Blandford, 2000) saw this phenomenon as an extension of the 'Cool Britannia' construction. One of the songs which best exemplifies 'Cool Cymru' is Catatonia's ' International Velvet', the main lyrics of which are written in Welsh and the chorus sung in English ("Everyday when I wake up, I thank the Lord I'm Welsh"). This song quickly became used in sporting events and was even deemed by some to be the new Welsh national anthem (see Perrins, 2000). What started as a surge of interest in Welsh music led to a growing confidence and interest in Welsh contemporary life. A survey of young people between 18 and 29 for the Welsh BBC current affairs programme Week In/Week Out (22nd June 1999) revealed that when asked what they associated most with the concept of 'Welshness', most referred to the landscape of Wales, closely followed by Welsh music. The overall results confirmed a new vibrancy and interest in Welsh culture, evident in the way young people embraced Welsh symbols as part of their everyday life, such as in the clothes they wore. Here we have a clear example of the relationship between popular culture, national identity and music in Wales.

National identity and film

According to David Adams (1998, in Davies, H. W., 1998), films can provide a means by which identity is explored. His particular interest is with the Welsh

playwright Edward Thomas. Adams claims Edward Thomas' plays form part of the late twentieth-century obsession with identity and memory. His plays and films focus on issues of family life and national identity. Adams suggests that the work of Thomas is steeped in popular culture, and that *House of America* (1997) in particular is a powerful film which addresses Welsh identity through a portrayal of Wales as a deprived nation whose historical heyday was over. The characters in the film imagine America as an idealized culture to which they wished to escape, however the film draws parallels between the pioneer myths of Wales and America and speaks directly to the Welsh about their identity. For Adams, trying to understand the role of national identity in film is all about trying to make sense of the phenomenon of 'identity'. Perrins (2002) states that the film *Twin Town* (1997) is similarly loaded with references to Wales and Welsh identity, highlighting markers of Welshness such as male voice choirs and a burial under a Welsh flag. Perrins makes it clear that the film *Twin Town* reflects the same sentiment as the lyric "Every day when I wake up, I thank the Lord I'm Welsh" (2000:166).

The role of national identities within film is given detailed consideration in the work of Edensor (2002), who comments that during the 1990's the box-office witnessed the success of three Scottish films, *Rob Roy* (1995), *Trainspotting* (1996) and *Shallow Grave* (1994). According to him, these films underline a new sense of identity in Scotland and a new representation of Scottishness (2002:149). Edensor claims that "a new diverse representations of Scottisness has emerged which is far removed from the kinds of stereotypical films such as *Whiskey Galore and Loch Ness*" (2002: 148). The film *Braveheart* (1995) was received by many in Scotland as a celebration of Scottish nationhood, and a portrayal of Scottish patriotism (Morgan, 1999). It is the story of

the historical character William Wallace augmented by several myths and narratives, some of which are associated with Wallace, and some that are not. The film was successful both in Scotland and internationally and strongly portrays Scottish national identity and representations of Scottishness(see website Mcbraveheart.com[xii] for further details about the films claimed relationship to national identity and Scottishness). *Braveheart* has been interpreted in different ways by different groups; for example, reference to the film was used to fire nationalist feeling in the run up to the 1997 referendum on devolution in Scotland, whereas according to Morgan (1999), the film can be seen as a post-colonial 'white pioneer' myth of ancestry which addresses and confirms a mainly American sense of cultural identity (1999: 145). Overall, films such as *Trainspotting* and *Braveheart* present a link between national identity and film with which audiences can engage. Questions concerning national, racial and cultural identity are central topics in these films.

The relationship between film and national identity is pertinent given current debates over the fate of the nation-state and the viability of nationalism and traditional national identities (see Giddens, 1991). Hollywood's version of American culture has always been the dominant cultural milieu since cinema began. Through the growth of mass communication and global markets Hollywood's presence is more pervasive than ever. Other national film industries have come under increasing pressure from American films that are aimed at international markets and exclude other local and national interests (Morley and Robins, 1995). Strinati (1992) claims that there is a threat of Americanization and, in time, all things local will be replaced by things American. However, in recent years there has been a trend in mainstream cinema towards representing themes of the nation, a sense of place and national myths and

histories. For example, *Very Annie Mary* (2001) is an evocation and celebration of Welsh culture, albeit somewhat stereotyped. *Pearl Harbour* (2001) also addresses national history in a mythologized 'Hollywoodized' way. British examples such as *Notting Hill* (1999), *Lock Stock and two Smoking Barrels* (1998) and *Snatch* (2000) generate a sense of local identity and also address issues of race, class and ethnicity.

There has been as pronounced resurgence of interest in the Australian film industry in the 1990's (see O 'Regan, 1996; Rowley, 1998). The films that exemplify this all portray a strong Australian identity. O' Regan (1996) refers to this as "Australian film revival" saying that films such as *Strictly Ballroom*, (1992) *Muriel's Wedding*, (1994) and *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* (1994) "chart and nurture a national culture and forge an Australian identity" (1996: 13-19). All the films mentioned above assert their Australian identity through portrayals of the landscape and references to place and environment, and also make stereotypical portrayals of (white, male) 'Aussie' identity. These, and other films are forging a new Australian film industry with a distinctly Australian sensibility which distinguishes itself from the prevailing trends of American cinema.

Hollywood may still dominate box-office ratings but there is a global market in which Australian, European and other film industries produce local and regional competition. The links between popular culture and national identity are complex and all forms of media promote national identity to some extent. In this era of globalization American popular culture dominates and can be accessed worldwide. However, through music, television and film other nations can define and assert their own national identity in the world market place.

Globalization, culture and national identity

It has been suggested that globalization will erase differences between human societies and create a universal culture in which various features of local and national cultures becomes no longer apparent. Writers agree that globalization is an existent phenomenon, however there is debate as to where it may lead (Featherstone, 1992; Robertson, 1992; Spybey, 1996; Wallerstein, 1997). There is no consensus about whether we are seeing an Americanization of culture, a 'hybrid culture' or a homogenous 'global culture'. According to Featherstone (1990), global cultural flows are complex but, although the terms globalization and 'global culture' are widely used, there seems to be no clear consensus regarding their meaning and results. The impact of globalization on culture, according to many writers, has become problematic due to the emergence of a global culture and cultural hybridization. For me, the key issues are whether we are indeed witnessing the development of a global culture and how cultural hybridization affects national identity and culture.

Giddens (1990, 1991) discuss the extent to which globalizing influences 'disembed' local cultures. He highlights how global influences pass through local cultures and thus how identity and belonging are no longer associated with a particular place. Eriksen (1991) holds a similar view to Giddens, and remarks that the world is already becoming a 'single place' and gives a number of examples of transnational commodities creating a common culture that will weaken local cultures. For Eriksen, hot dogs, fries and hamburgers are served all over the world, identical pop songs are

played all over the world; and Coca-Cola adverts are shown with minimal local variations at cinemas all over the world.

There are many global commodities that people can now access, ranging from Madonna to Burger King to Japanese computer games but this does not mean, at present, the end of national and local cultures, as Eriksen suggests. For example, the world famous Rio carnival is a signifier of Brazilian national identity, the Welsh Eisteddfod is a display of Welshness and the St Patrick's Day Parade in New York celebrates American-Irish identity. All of these cultural events, to pick but a few local cultural instances, display strong local identity and are being sustained despite globalization.

According to Featherstone (1990), globalized images such as those associated with McDonalds and Coca-Cola have become so familiar that they have become part of our everyday popular culture and they therefore bring about destructive consequences for nation-states. Several social theorists argue that globalization is strengthening the dominance of the world capitalist economic system, which in turn is affecting the domination of the nation-state by transnational[xiii] corporations eroding local cultures and creating a global culture. Tomlinson (1999) is, however, sceptical that a global culture exists. For him, cultures, local and national, have been altered irrevocably by the globalizing process but he does not see this leading to a 'monolithic' global culture. Some other writers are more concerned with the process of globalization and its relationship with national cultures than discussing a global culture. Billig (1995) uses consumption as an example of globalization eroding differences between national cultures. For Billig, an English family can decide to have "traditional English

roast beef, in exactly the same way they can decide upon any other market exotica" (1995: 132). Globalization is weakening differences and spaces between nations, and also "fragmenting the imagined unity within those nations" (1995: 132). Globalization may bring about challenges and changes to national and local cultures and this may impact upon national identities but other writers hold that these are at present only speculative. Supporters of the national culture (Smith, 1995) highlight that there is no global memory, no global way of thinking and no universal history which people can access. Smith is sceptical about the possibility of a global culture and states it is 'shallow' and 'artificial'. Held and McGrew (2002) argue that, despite the various increases in information technology and the vast flows of people around the world there are very few signs of a global culture and even fewer signs of the decline of nationalism. I would argue that, at present, Held and McGrew's view best captures the current condition of nationalism and national identity across the world.

Cultural homogenization or cultural heterogenization?

According to some theorists, the culture of the world may become more homogeneous and uniform as global processes impact on distinctive local cultures and identities (see Barber, 1995; Ritzer, 1998). One of the foreseeable outcomes of this process is an Americanized world culture where American commodities dominate the market place. American brands such as Levi jeans, Coca-Cola and myriad other globalized commodities are currently available worldwide. Storey (2003) accepts this proliferation of American goods but argues that this does not necessarily lead to an Americanization of culture as other cultural elements are at least as significant as the market place. For Storey, there are other world cultures whose influence is also growing internationally, including Japan and Hong Kong. He suggests that

globalization will not lead to an homogenized American culture but that the situation is more complex, involving flows of culture and the fusion of the global and the local in "new forms of hybrid cultures" (2003: 112). Appadurai (1996) similarly notes that the tension between cultural homogenization and heterogenization is the most controversial issue when considering the relationship between globalization and culture. Appadurai (1996) suggests that a uniformity of culture is an inevitable outcome of globalization, whatever form that culture may take. Barber (1995) also postulates the concept of what he calls the 'McWorld', a future where the drive for profits leads to an homogenous culture typified by shopping malls, multiplex cinemas and fast food outlets. If this kind of culture were to develop it would be to the detriment of local and national cultures and identities. Although the 'McWorld' does not exist fully-fledged at present this erosion of local diversity can be seen in the commercial world where small businesses are unable to compete with international chains.

A heterogenized culture is one which can borrow and adapt cultural elements from other world cultures and incorporate them into its own life styles and cultural forms without necessarily destroying its own traditional and cultural practices. Globalization, according to Storey (2003), seems to produce two opposing outcomes - difference and sameness. For him, the world may become similar due to time-space compression but it is also "characterized by an awareness of difference". The global will always be associated with the local and will involve a place for tradition and local culture (2003; 115). Nederveen Pieterse suggests that globalization is not about the export of sameness but should be viewed as a system of heterogenization which produces a global mixture, pointing to phenomena such as Asian rap music in

London, Irish bagels, Chinese tacos and Mardi Gras Indians in the US (see Nederveen Pieterse, 1995: 53).

Hybridization, deterritorialization and globalization

Several writers (Appadurai, 1990; Featherstone, 1995; Morley and Robins, 1995; Tomlinson, 1999) use the term deterritorialization to describe a facet of globalization in which the influence of locality becomes of decreasing importance in people's cultural lives. Tomlinson, after Giddens (1990), describes this as the 'lifting out' of social relations from local contexts. He suggests that the 'complex connectivity' of "interconnections and interdependencies that typify modern social life" (1999: 2) facilitate deterritorialization which, in turn, has a profound impact on people's daily activities and 'banal' cultural experiences. Tomlinson uses the example of 'international food culture,' where cuisine from across the globe is available widely and can be accessed cheaply and easily. For example, Italian ciabatta, Thai curries and Mexican tacos can be bought in any British supermarket, while there are more Indian restaurants in Britain than fish and chip shops. Tomlinson concedes that the above examples do not necessarily infer the penetration of the global into the local as cuisines with an international label do not always reflect the cuisine of the country, for example Indian restaurant cuisine is purely a British phenomena. Equally, Tomlinson describes attending a British multiplex cinema as a 'purely American' experience, from American accented announcements to the notices saying 'please deposit trash'. He uses this as an example of deterritorialization by contrasting it with now the defunct experience of attending a traditional British town centre cinema.

The degree to which deterritorialization will be a feature of future culture is of course unknowable. Tomlinson suggests that the erosion of the influence of localities will be limited in the foreseeable future. This seems plausible, as our cultural experience is tied to our physical existence over which our location obviously has a strong influence. For example, institutions such as the WDA (Welsh Development Agency) and WTB (Welsh Tourist Board) continue to advertise Wales by drawing on its unique nature emphasizing its individual cultural elements. Therefore the influence of place will always remain significant for self-identity.

The idea of deterritorialization leads directly to the theory of hybridization (see Appadurai, 1996). With the erosion of local cultures comes a mingling of the cultural elements which have become dissociated from place. This may lead to a 'hybridized' culture in which the elements of many national cultures are available to all. These elements may include entertainment forms such as films, music and television, goods and services, sports, and religious ideas. The individual is presented with a large array of these cultural elements and is free to subscribe to any number.

According to Pieterse, all cultures are, and always have been, hybrid. If there is any increase in 'mixing' due to globalization it is merely the 'hybridization of hybrid cultures ' (1995:64) and there is no such thing as a truly pure culture (see Tomlinson, 1999). Using the concept of hybrid cultures is useful when considering new forms of cultural identification such as youth culture and popular music. At present I would argue that while we increasingly have access to a greater variety of foreign cultural elements the greater part of our cultural focus remains centred on our local and national experiences. The hybrid element remains secondary and is still viewed as

exotic rather than 'banal'. Perhaps more importantly, while people are more alert to cultural mixing they nonetheless appear to cling to the view of national categories to understand cultural differences, 'ways of life' and to consume commodities. Moreover, as globalization proceeds marketing and advertising promote the distinctiveness of places and cultures.

Conclusion

Culture influences every aspect of our lives. We are constantly presented with and immersed in the various cultural elements of our society. Some writers such as Gellner (1983) consider culture to be the basic currency of nationhood, claiming that a unified nation can only come about if the populace feels that they share in a common culture. Theorists in this field have described the various ways in which this common culture can be created and sustained. For example, Anderson (1991) sees this common culture as being created by a national print media. Other mechanisms include a central education system (Gellner, 1993) and official accounts created by historians and educators (Smith, 1991). These writers all focus on what can loosely be termed as 'high' culture and tend to neglect another element that contributes to this shared experience: popular culture. Popular cultural forms have been explored by writers such as Billig (1995), Hall (1996), and Edensor (2002) but I would argue that this is an area which requires a much greater amount of study, and this is increasingly important as globalization has recently become a topic of significant interest. Popular culture, as I have argued, can be seen as one of the primary mechanisms which drives globalization. Pop music, Hollywood movies, fast food and television programmes are all examples of highly globalized products. Research needs to be done to examine

the question of whether popular culture is a property of globalization or whether it can reinforce national culture and identity.

Globalization tends to disembed local cultures and break the link between local and national cultures. In this era of globalization there is a greater mixing of cultures across the world and the possible beginnings of hybrid cultures or homogenous cultures. Despite the first signs of these processes people lives are still based around their locality and we are still acutely aware of national differences. Some consumer goods and cultural commodities have become identical across the globe and the images of certain products have become ubiquitous. However, amongst this global melange individual nations and places are asserting their uniqueness by advertising themselves for tourism and industrial development by emphasising their own distinct cultures and attributes. This illustrates my central argument in this chapter that national cultures are being sustained despite globalizing influences, and that the greater access people have to various cultures other than their own does not undermine national identity.

Chapter Three

History or Histories? National Identity and History

'History or histories?' is a necessary question to ask when thinking about the relationship between history and national identity. 'History' is widely assumed to have played a pivotal role in the construction of the nation and national identity. Many writers have placed history and national memory at the centre of nationalist ideology (Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1995, 1991). Others have considered the ways in which national history is reconfigured within contemporary society (Duara, 1996; Jenkins, 1995; Phillips, 1998b). People may think about their national history as something objective and taken-for-granted but this chapter will show that 'history' is an artefact. History is constructed, disputed and often contradictory. People are not locked into one national history, but many histor*ies*. Understanding 'history' involves the study of the role of the past in relation to memories, commemoration, heritage and education.

The first section of this chapter considers writers such as Cubitt (1998), Renan (1882 in Bhabha, 1990) and Miller (1997), who have contributed to discussions of the relationship between history, the nation and national identity, and discusses some interrelated themes that appear frequently throughout the literature. These are: collective memory; the 'past in the present'; and the role of national narratives. The second section examines how national memory is reinforced through education. It is necessary to view history as a discursive construct. History is not homogenous; rather, it is heterogeneous and includes a variety of stories, narratives and discourses, and thus history becomes *histories*. The final section examines the relationship

between memory and globalization. Here I explore how histories are continuing to be sustained in spite of the process of globalization and technological change. This section explores the reasons why history is so often disputed. National memory and national past will be discussed with reference to globalization and I will argue that the public salience of national memories and the influence of the past over national identity will not be eroded by the forces of globalization but are continually being reinforced by governments, historians and academics.

The 'shaping' of national history

Within academic debates, 'history' is understood to play an important part in shaping national identity. In order to distinguish national identity from personal identity Miller draws upon five features, and one of these elements is 'history'. Nations, he argues, "stretch backwards into the past, and indeed in most cases their origins are conveniently lost in the midst of time. In the course of this history, various significant events have occurred, and we can identify with the actual people who acted at those moments, reappropriating their deeds as our own" (1997: 23). Similarly, Cubbitt (1998) argues that nations are typically imagined as fixed and contain many elements that make up the nation, among them tradition, memory, origin, heritage, history, and destiny.

Reicher and Hopkins (2001) argue that many theorists recognise the importance of understanding national history, placing the role of history as central in the construction of the nation and discuss the past, memories and significant historical events. People, it is suggested, often make sense of their nation and national identity by considering the impact of history or with reference to events which they feel may

have shaped their national identity. However, for some, the role of history is subject to considerable dispute. For example, Renan (1990) places history at the core of the nationalist project but claims that history does require careful interpretation. As Reicher and Hopkins suggest, there is debate and disagreement on precisely what role history plays: "the argument is not so much as to whether nations have history or not, but rather about the ways in which nations use historical themes as part of their national imagination" (2001: 17). Reicher and Hopkins, in contrast to other writers who maintain that nations are ancient, suggest that a national history is not 'objective'; instead it has to be produced and reproduced. Similarly, Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) argue that for the mass of the population consciousness of their national identity is produced through various ceremonies, rituals and re-enactments of 'the past' which are historically novel and invented, in spite of how they are presented. Here history is described as being 'invented' or even 'imagined'.

According to Low-Beer (2003), there are many types of histories: folk history, academic history, heritage history, social memory and even media history and identity history. For her each of these may overlap but they each contribute to a sense of national identity. There are nevertheless some common themes that feature recurrently in discussions of the relationship between history, the nation and national identity. For the purpose of this chapter three themes will be discussed: narratives; 'past in the present'; and collective memory.

Memory can be defined as the process of reproducing or recalling what has been learned and retained through a variety of mechanisms. There are several different types of memories. For example, personal memories (events which we personally

remember), shared memories (events which communities retell and discuss) or even public memories (which are supported by political institutions, and include public commemorations, national museums and national celebrations). For the purpose of this chapter I will focus on collective memory. Collective memory refers to the process in which societies, communities and groups represent their history and produce accounts of past events that shape the present. Collective memory is recorded in a variety of forms including historical texts (both popular and academic), commemorative ceremonies (festivals or rituals) and public displays (museums and monuments).

Sociological literature points out that the function of collective memory is not to remember what really has happened in history, but to create a "feeling that the collective has its own history" (Billig, 1990: 61). This aspect of collective memory plays an important role in the process of nation building. According to Levy (1999), the literature today on collective memory identifies that whoever controls images of the past, shapes the present and future. Levy views collective memory as a 'contested terrain' in which different groups alter their national past to suit their present political views of the future (1999: 52). According to Crawford (2003), collective memories of nations are marked by their past and thus what they choose to celebrate or forget about their history says much about how they wish to be seen by others. As one can see, while collective memories or even public memories may have their own histories they include what is remembered and also what is forgotten (Renan, 1990). For example, monuments have been subject to particular attention by critics, who argue that traditional memory sites discourage engagement with the past and encourage forgetting rather than remembering (see Gillis, 1994). Collective memories are

always selective. Institutions such as the mass media, contribute to our collective memories and while some of the accounts presented to us may differ, they still feed into a mass memory of particular events. Notions of memory and national identity have become the subject of considerable debate. Here we can use Allan and Thompson's view that the nation is "engendered in and through elaborate and always contradictory processes of national memory" (1999: 3). In their discussion of 'the time and space of national memory' they refer to various institutions and organisations such as mass media, education, art galleries and religious organisations reproducing rival histories.

From the above examples, we can say that national memories are constructed, organized and shaped into a variety of narratives. These narratives come to be learned as the official accounts of the national past. Thus, the past appears as something which is natural to people. The work of Tonkin *et al.* is especially useful for this chapter because they ask two vital questions: 'How does the present create the past?' and 'How did the past lead to the present?' (1989: 1).

Ways in which the past shapes the present can be seen in nationalist discourses. Nations are represented as possessing a past which can be seen in monuments, architecture, and various ceremonies and commemorative events (Spillman, 1997). Elsewhere, Anderson (1983) argues that a sense of shared experience through time is important to national identity as a form of collective identity. For Anderson, this leads to the construction of a shared past and future. According to Spillman (1997), shared historical experiences are crucial in creating parts of the past which can be celebrated. For her, an occasion for celebration in the United States of America was

the Declaration of Independence. Such 'founding moments' according to Spillman are important to national identity because they produce a symbolic focus for national memory (1997: 69-71). Notions of the past are not always glorified; for example, there are disputes over various memorials of war. Conflicts over the ANZAC memorial in Sydney and the Holocaust memorial in Berlin illustrate that there is contestation over how the past should be remembered (Whitmarsh, 2001).

Disputes over war memorials, and over other national monuments, are shaped by conditions in the present. McCrone makes this point when he argues that "history is not a product of the past, but a response to the requirements of the present" (1998: 44). Reicher and Hopkins (2001) similarly emphasize that the line between the past and present is far from straightforward. It is apparent that in any discussions of the relationship between history and national identity, the past is influenced by the present. The past is marked with a variety of symbols, myths, remembering and commemorations. According to Bhabha (1990), nations are similar to narratives – they are like stories about who people are and where they come from. Bhabha claims that the national narrative involves actively forgetting as well as actively remembering (this will be discussed in more detail in the next section). Lowenthal shares a similar view to Bhabha. Nations, he argues, are "not unique in what they choose to remember but in what they feel forced to forget" (1994: 50).

The three key themes discussed in this section demonstrate that nationalism and national identity rely upon the diffusion of a living memory from one generation to the next. These themes also show that history can be shaped in a variety of ways.

The chapter will now examine how history is promoted through various institutions and organisation.

The Reproduction of History and National Identity

Chapter Two focused on the ways in which culture is constructed, especially in the core of popular culture, through films, television and music. Thinking about how history is reproduced involves considering a range of institutions and issues such as schools, museums, libraries, and various myths, symbols and images. In Island Stories Samuel (1998) talks about how there has been a growing interest in the recovery of the national past. For Samuel, the past penetrates every department of national life. Urry (1996) is critical of the fact that the way societies collectively remember the past has received little attention from the social sciences and suggests that the past should be viewed as a key component for social theory. He further suggests that up until now accounts of how societies remember the past have been ambiguous. For Urry, there is little research highlighting the actual mechanisms by which societies remember the past and the present. Urry argues for a coherent understanding of the past which includes three mechanisms; time, heritage, and memory. These, he maintains help explain how societies remember the past.

The overall aim of this section is to consider the ways in which history helps to reproduce a sense of national identity and to also theorize about the relationship between the past, the present and national identity. This section considers the work of Urry (1996), McCrone (1998), Phillips (1998b) Reicher and Hopkins (2001), and examines how the past informs the present and the ways in which the past is perpetuated in the present. This section will look at the relationship between the past

and national identity using three themes; education; museums/commemoration and myths; images and symbols. These elements all sustain the relationship between history and national identity in some way. I will analyze each in turn.

The past and education

Most people first encounter history through school and most of school history teaching concerns the history of the home nation. Reicher and Hopkins (2001) use the example of national heroes which are taught in school in order to give substance to the national past (history and education will also be discussed in Chapter Eight). According to Berghahn and Schissler, "since the rise of the modern nation-state and the introduction of universal education, history has been geared to the teaching of the national past and to generating an identification with it" (1987: 1-2). School children, they maintained, understand the history that is taught in school in absolute terms, they believe (and are led to believe) that it is entirely factual, and not subjective or open to debate. Berghahn and Schissler in their work highlight the significance of the role of the education system and suggest that the past appears as something which is objective. For some writers (Phillips, 1998a, 1998b), history textbooks give children the impression that events of the past, the rise and fall of civilisations, wars, victories and defeats are recorded and carefully remembered. Clearly, then, the content of history textbooks is a major deciding factor about which periods and aspects of history children will study.

Recently history books have become the subject of increasing scrutiny among political elites in Europe. For example, an article in The Guardian newspaper (December 10, 2002) claimed that too much history of Nazi Germany was being

taught in schools, reporting that the German ambassador attacked history teaching in British schools, suggesting that it encourages xenophobia by concentrating exclusively on Germany's past. The suggestion put forward was that the history curriculum should teach and promote modern German democracy and not solely focus on World War II. This demonstrates that history teaching can be problematic and that the ways in which history is used raises questions about its consequences for reproducing national divisions and stereotypes. According to Calhoun, school history teaching is designed to produce positive accounts of 'our' past:

> history is deeply shaped by the tradition of producing national histories designed to give readers and students a sense of their collective identity. However, nationalists are prone, at the very least, to the production of Whig histories, favourable accounts of 'how we came to be who we are (1997: 51).

Public education therefore sustains the division of the world into 'us' and 'them', portraying 'us' in a way that encourages a positive identification with the nation.

Phillips (1998b), in his book *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State*, argues that in the early part of the twentieth century history teaching was not particularly controversial because it reflected an essentially patriarchal and homogenous society. British history, according to Phillips, centred on the 'grand narratives' of the British past, and was unquestioned by a predominantly white hierarchal society. During the 1960's the situation began to change as British society was becoming more ethnically diverse. This resulted in various challenges to the history curriculum which placed England at the fore and came to be regarded as outdated. Even more changes were heralded in the 1990's when devolution in Wales and Scotland introduced different history curricula that included an emphasis on the distinct histories of the four British nations.

Berghahn and Schissler (1987) established that school history has been used, at various times in Europe, as a means of state socialization, claiming that the teaching of the national past has been geared towards generating identification with the nation-state. For Phillips (1998b) there are tensions between contrasting discourses on the nature, aims and purposes of history teaching and these are linked to different conceptions of nationhood, culture and national identity. Phillips looks at the way history was taught in England and found that there was a 'displaced' notion of Englishness which was idealized or romanticized and did not reflect the reality of Englishness in the twenty first century. This, he argues, stemmed from an identity crisis which 'was borne from intense ideological, cultural and social change' (1998b: 128). Phillips suggests that there is no reason why the English or British history taught in schools should be 'inward looking or parochial' (1998b: 128); for him, the history syllabus should look at the various notions of Britishness within the context of European and indeed wider global history.

The ways in which history is represented, reproduced and debated within schools tell us a great deal about the dynamics of national re-configuration; it also tells us something about the past and how national identity can be seen within the present. For Furedi these sorts of debates and reinventions stem from "an anxiety about the future which in turn stimulates a scramble to the appropriate past" (1992: 3). The past may be presented as being contested, contradictory and highly debatable, but it is the way in which the past is remembered and reproduced that remains important. Learning about the past is not a process limited to our schooling, but continues throughout our lives.

Museums and Commemoration

Another way to examine how the past is organized and reproduced is through museums, memorials, ceremonies and architecture (see Chapter Eight on how young people talk about the role of museums). National holidays, and the way the nation commemorates key events in the nations past (Remembrance Day or Saint Patrick's Day[xiv]) constitute celebrations which mark the nation and national identity. Walker claims commemorations are as 'selective as sympathies' (1996: 76), and that if we look at the background of modern dates of remembrance we will often find that their actual meanings over time have changed. These commemorations not only mark important historical events, they can tell us much about the changes in the way that society views its own history. Walker also claims that war memorials are very significant for a nation and national identity; for example, there are over 4,000 war memorials throughout Australia, with the particular focus of these monuments being World War I and the ANZAC. These monuments play a great part in defining and reproducing what it means to be Australian and also act as a reminder of the national past. These memorials symbolize, through their part in ceremonies of national commemoration, the immortality of the nation and how the nation should be remembered.

Museums also play an important symbolic role in the construction and reproduction of the past, national knowledge and the nation (see Foucault, 1977, Anderson, 1991 and Hooper-Greenhill, 1992). There is a wide range of academics from a variety of disciplines that study and understand the significance of museums for the shaping of national identity and culture. Macdonald (1996) claims that museums play a key role

in the shaping of identity, power, knowledge and difference. Museums, according to Macdonald, are about linking past, present and future. For Macdonald, "museums play a role in displaying the world and structuring a modern way of seeing and comprehending the world" (1996: 9-10). Urry (1996) considers the roles that museums and heritage play in what he sees as the social objectification of the past. Examining various heritage debates, he considers why it is that museums may be so implicated in the articulation of collective identity and memory. He comments that heritage sites are not always received the way that they are intended, as people tend to use them as a catalyst for their own reminiscences instead of taking away the intended message. Despite this, Urry's concern is that museums adopt authoritative traditions which brings about one single autonomous British culture. For him, there are many cultures operating in Britain, yet only by emphasising the ambiguous nature of heritage, can we can see how museums are implicated in the development of national identities. Urry highlights that museums produce history and the past by re-creating one particular version of history which may be subject to scrutiny. Cubitt (1998) makes a similar point to Urry claiming that in the 20th century particularly, national histories have tended to be constructed not as progressive, linear chains of events, but as an accumulation of characterisation, remembrances, memorabilia, heritage and rituals that lend themselves to public consumption but do not necessarily reflect the reality of the past.

Since the 1980's museums have come under criticism for this myopic view of history. However, for Hooper-Greenhill (1995) in recent years museums have become more diverse and include "interactive media, technological and visual images for the purpose of public consumption" (in Phillips, 1998a: 48). It would appear that

technological change and globalization are playing an increasing part within museums today. More museums are beginning to present a more heterogenized account of history, one that includes a range of histories rather than history, and this according to Prosler (1996), may account for the growth of interest in museums at the end of the twentieth century (in Phillips, 1998a: 48).

On the whole, museums and the heritage industry have played an important role in the reproduction and construction of the nation and national identity. Museums, heritage and the past may reinforce notions of the nation and national identity but they must be approached with some caution. Another feature of history includes the importance of various myths and symbols which I will turn to next.

Myths, symbols and images

Until recently museums have not been especially responsive to reflecting multiple histories and have, therefore, been partly responsible for standardizing national memory by presenting a largely linear, unproblematic national narrative. However, within these narratives there are a variety of myths and symbols to be uncovered. McCrone (1998) suggests that there is a single narrative, which may be mythical or semi-mythical, through which a nation will define its identity. The association with this myth is more persuasive than any association with documented historical events and McCrone includes the Hollywood movie *Braveheart* as an example, drawing on the work of Anthony Smith to reinforce his ideas. For him, Smith's concept of the 'ethnie', in which myths of common ancestry and a shared history are key factors in defining who people are, is not based on the received history but is based on a myth. Actually, for Smith, it is a combination of both. Some possible examples of this may

include the Arthurian legends for the English and the legends of the Druids for the Welsh. Miller (1997), in contrast to McCrone, highlights that within the nation there may be differing narratives based on events which are agreed. According to Miller, "more often, national myths involve telling stories about events whose occurrence is not in doubt, and different factions inside the nation will offer competing interpretations of these events" (1997: 39). Both writers agree that there are certain mythological elements that define the nation, and that these myths persist into the twentieth century. As can be seen, myths and symbols are used to reproduce notions of the past and national identity.

The past, according to Lowenthal (1985), in terms of the nation and national identity, has emerged from twentieth century politics and history. Reicher and Hopkins (2001) share a similar approach to Lowenthal. They dismiss the notion that nationhood depends upon a common past. For these writers it is the contemporary icons, historical myths and images which provide the 'building blocks' for the nation and national identity (2001: 24). Reicher and Hopkins call this the 'symbolic reserve' (2001: 24). They see this constant reinforcement of symbols as a major factor in forging national identity, as opposed to the traditional myths which Miller and McCrone suggest. Writers such as Lowenthal and Reicher and Hopkins focus on the contemporary versions of the past. The various myths and symbols are used not only to promote notions of national identity but are reserved for commemorative events in which the nation and national identity is passionately remembered. The work of these writers reflect the many contestations and debates that are uncovered when looking at the role of the past in the present and how it informs national identity.

The ideas of heritage and the past are also subject to dispute. Lowenthal (1997) suggests that while the past is used to construct national identity, it is not always historical. For him, the past as heritage must be distinguished from history; the two, according to Lowenthal, are often confused. Lowenthal claims that heritage is not history and while it takes certain elements from history it does not attempt to provide the historical facts. However, he does highlight that since the 1980's history has moved into the heritage industry and can be found everywhere from television, news and movies to the market place. Lowenthal claims that "one can barely move without bumping into a heritage site "(1997: xiii). Heritage sites and museums have also been examined by Gruffudd *et al.* (1999) who focus on the ways in which the heritage industry and museums in Wales draw upon images of Welsh identity both past and present. Their work examined how visitors to these sites understood Celtic Wales and they were asked how it informs their everyday lives. Interviews were carried out among groups who were mainly from non-Welsh backgrounds. The study found that visitors used and 'imagined' a Celtic past to make sense of their own past and everyday life. They had little knowledge of Celtic Wales but did draw upon notions of national identity, history and ideas of their own past to make a link to the present. Gruffudd *et al.* found that people tend to take these heritage sites at face value and do not question the past. They suggest that this may be problematic for the teaching of history and the heritage industry. This research shows how the heritage industry reinforces national identity and also how an 'imagined' national past impacts on the present. The research also demonstrates how people actually understand and make sense of heritage sites and museums. The heritage industry, according to Gruffudd *et al.* is a way in which the past operates in the present.

So far we have been presented with academics' views on history and here we are presented with visitors accounts of heritage sites. Gruffudd *et al's.* study is perhaps one of the few studies that have used empirical research. One of the interesting findings of this study apart from the various contradictions and debates about the past is people's limited knowledge of history. Perhaps this study is not an accurate reflection of public knowledge of Welsh history because many of the visitors were not Welsh, but what their research shows is that people tend to take history for granted and generally do not query the history that is presented to them. As Gruffudd *et al.* suggest, the visitors lack of knowledge may be due to the teaching of national histories in schools (a similar point raised by Phillips, 1998b) or the ways in which history is presented to people (via the heritage industry).

Here it is necessary to look at the 'discursive' nature of history and the ways in which the past becomes 'enhabitated' (Billig, 1995: 42) (also see Bhabha, 1990; Hall, 1996; Wodak *et al.*, 1999). Billig (1995) suggests that there are many elements of the past that are present in our everyday lives, although we are not consciously aware of their historical connections. These elements are simultaneously remembered and forgotten, in the sense that the past becomes second nature as we carry out our daily routines. Billig calls this process "enhabitation". He links this with Bourdieu's notion of the "habitus", which Bourdieu defines as "embodied history, internalised as second-nature and so forgotten as history" (in Billig, 1995: 42). Billig and Bourdieu see history as an ever-present sub-text which underlines our thoughts and actions. 'Enhabitation' and the idea of history being discursive are useful tools in analysing the nature of history.

Bhabha (1990) and Wodak *et al.* (1999) suggest that history is fundamental to the discursive production and reproduction of the narrative of the nation. The narrative of the nation is told and retold through national histories, literature, the media and popular culture, which together provide a set of stories, images, historical events, national symbols and rituals. Through these stories national identity is perceived as essential and taken-for-granted. Hall (1995) makes a similar point, discussing the significance of 'discursive strategies' in the telling of national cultures through stories, myths and images. Calhoun also draws upon the notion of nationalism being discursive and includes Michael Foucault's idea that nationalism is a 'discursive formation'. He states nationalism "is a way of speaking that shapes our consciousness, but also is problematic enough that it keeps generating more issues and questions, keeps propelling us into further talk, keeps producing debates over how to think about it" (Calhoun, 1997: 3). Calhoun's intention is to highlight that Foucault might have understood nationalism as a discursive formation. For Bhabha (1990), Foucault (in Calhoun, 1997) describes nationalism, the nation and national identity as discursive phenomena. From the work of Wodak *et al.* (1999) in particular we can also conclude that history is discursive as there are many reasons that history may be re-evaluated or re-interpreted. Further, there is a debate about which elements of history will be selected to be taught in schools (Phillips, 1998b). Heritage sites and museums are responsible for producing and re-producing accounts of the past, these accounts can also be seen as a form of discourse.

There are, then, various ways in which to understand the role of history in the shaping and portrayal of national identity. In order to think about the different narratives of history and to try to make sense of its complexities, I have drawn upon the work of

Billig (1995), Bhabha (1990) and Wodak *et al.* (1999). I have presented four ways of thinking about how the past impacts upon national identity: the past is mythical (McCrone, 1998); the past is subject to debate (Phillips, 1998b); the past is contemporary (Reicher and Hopkins, 2001); and the past in the present (Gruffudd *et al.* 1999). These four 'devices' for conceptualizing the national past show that there are number of ways in which the past can be understood. The past is, as Samuel (1998) states, present within national life and it is the ways in which the past impacts on the present that need to be addressed. Heritage sites, museums, and education are all responsible for reproducing a national past and people can access their national past through these and other institutions. Regardless of academic debates about history, the history which informs a person's national identity involves a mixture of elements taken from education, museums, heritage sites and so on, all of which feed into a person's personal perception of their own history. People will remember parts and forget parts of history and be left with an impression of their national history rather than a full detailed narrative. National narratives and memories are continuing to be examined in light of globalization. In the next section I examine to what extent national memories and national narratives are affected by globalization, and ask whether we can now talk about a global memory.

History and globalization

Writers such as Jenkins (1995) and Duara (1996) have placed history at the centre of the debates concerning globalization. Other writers such as Smith (1995) and White (2001) suggest that globalization will not affect the nation and national identity, and they highlight how collective memories and the national past are still being reinforced today. This section explores history and globalization and the various contradictions

and contestations that exist, before turning to the relationship between collective memory, the national past and globalization. The final part explores how national memories and the past are continuing to be reinforced through TV programmes, governments and schools. These examples show how, despite globalization, the national past and memories are not being destroyed by the forces of globalization.

As I have argued history and national identity can often become disputed for a number of reasons. Furedi (1992) states that history has become a subject in demand by a range of groups concerned to find identity in a changing, uncertain, often troubled world; there is thus no longer 'a History with a capital H; there are many competing histories (1992: 8). For Furedi, history is not homogenous but heterogeneous. Popular interest in the past, local and national, remains strong. Gillis (1994) argues that increasingly there is a recognition that 'history' is more subject to interpretation and that these interpretations can often be conflicting. He describes the ways in which the past is contested, which he calls a "re-usable past" (1994: 19). History, according to Gillis, had always been one of the formative factors of national identity, but he argues that, from the 1960's onward, history has been reappraised and renegotiated by many groups, such as ethnic minorities, various youth cultures, and those with alternative sexualities, each searching to establish and authenticate their own group identity. Gillis maintains that in this transitional 'era of plural identities' the 'publicising' of memories and identities and the discussion and re-evaluation of history is more necessary than ever for these groups to define their common values and heritage and thus to consolidate their place in society and negotiate their future. The idea of history being 're-used' and 're-interpreted' shows us again that there is not a single history but a plurality of *histories*.

When thinking about notions of Britishness there is not just one national identity, but many. Being British, English or Scottish may mean many things to many people (see Hall, 1996; Alibhai-Brown 1999, 2000). Roger Scruton (1991), the author of England: An Elegy, has said, somewhat controversially, that "the only group of Her Majesty's subjects who describe themselves as British are those who emigrated to the UK from the former colonies" (see BBC news October 11th 2000). A similar argument is now frequently made about national identity more generally. That is, there is no fixed national identity, but rather a range of ways in which national identity is envisaged by people. This links to wider discussions of how globalization has affected the ability of the state to define and monitor collective identity (Bauman, 1992; Urry, 2000). Politicians struggle to provide unambiguous definitions of national identity, often, instead, referring to looser conceptions of the nation and national culture. Conservative Party leader William Hague, for example, claimed to be British means being, "ambitious, sporty, fashion-conscious, multi-ethnic, brassy, self-confident and international', adding that Britain is a place where 'hundreds of thousands go to the Notting Hill Carnival and the Eisteddfod, the Britain which watches MTV and Changing Rooms, and which is fascinated by Ricky and Bianca's ups and downs" (BBC NEWS, October 11th 2000). Therefore, there is no clear definition of Britishness; notions of identity and national memory are multiple and complex. Thus, we cannot speak of one national memory or one national past. There are, instead, multiple versions of histories which relate to different interests (Phillips, 1999b).

Such arguments underline the impact of postmodernism in conceptualizing the relationship between history and national identity. As Duara (1996) remarks, there

are multiple representations, including historical ones, involved in the production of national identities. For Duara, "national identity may be invented, its formulations are typically able to build it around, or form among, reconstituted and resonant representations of the community, by destroying or obscuring other representations" (1996: 164-65). Jenkins (1995) considers postmodernism as a way of defeating challenging notions of history. For Jenkins, the conditions of postmodernism have produced a multiplicity of histories which can be seen everywhere 'throughout our democratic/consuming culture, a mass of genres (designer/niche histories) to be variously used or abused' (1995: 65). Jenkins adopts a similar approach to Duara (1996) and highlights the idea of histories and links this idea to postmodernity. History is no longer confined to traditional museums and heritage sites but has moved into popular media such as television, film and popular fiction. This has brought history to a wider audience and in a more accessible way.

The various theories concerning the conditions generated by globalization[xv] or postmodernism suggest a 'decentring' of identity. If this is the case then, how does this affect the role of national memory, history and identity? I will argue that, as a consequence of globalization, people are becoming aware of how their lives are locked into social relations which extend beyond various borders of their country. One of the ways in which we can see this is through the idea of a global culture (Featherstone, 1995; Smith, 1995). As I argued in previous chapters, for many globalization may cause fragmentation and active participation in various transnational[xvi] networks. As I discussed in Chapter Two the country of origin and the country of residence may be connected by rapid means of transport, cultural exchanges and electronic communications. People are drawn together into a tighter

network through technology, rapid communication, mass media and transport. Appadurai (1990) refers to the increasing flow of people (immigrants, workers, and refugees), technology, financial information, media images and media information, ideologies and worldviews. I argue that people now have multiple identities and histories and share multiple localities and thus are not locked into one collective memory or a national history but can access a variety of histories and memories on a local, national and even global level.

According to White (2001), globalization is important for the ways in which public history is interpreted. White focuses on ethnographic research on a local, national and international level and draws upon various memorials in the US, such as the USS Arizona Memorial in Hawaii, to understand how foreign travellers make sense of the local histories. For White, all historic and cultural sites produce a variety of meanings but his view is that people from all over the world visit these sites and each person has a very different interpretation of events and this, in turn, produces a variety of meanings. Because there are a number of interpretations of any historical site due to national, racial or generational identities, White argues that the production of public history must take into account the differences and make sites inclusive rather than exclusive.

White (2003) claims that the destruction of the World Trade Centre on September 11th 2001 clearly reminded people that they live in a world in which key events affect everyone from different borders and regions and cultures. For White, histories do not just happen; memories and histories are culturally mediated by people's stories and thus societies remember significant events. White highlights how there is an ongoing

reproduction of collective memory in public spaces dedicated to war memory and these may be cemeteries, monuments and museums. For White, despite globalization, collective memories will continue to be remembered nationally, locally or even internationally and 9/11 continues to memorialize the American nation and reinforce the national past.

Along similar lines, Hoskins (2002) discusses how the electronic media can be said to function as a key and continuous source of recollection of past events. For example, television provides more immediate and pervasive prompts of collective memory (see Hoskins[xvii], 2002) According to Hoskins (2002), 9/11 had a great impact upon collective memory and global memory. For Hoskins, the TV coverage of 9/11 was 'instantaneous' – there was a "global/western simultaneity" (2002:4). Hoskins states that due to this catastrophe and the way it was televised, TV entered its first 'event time'. That is, the coverage of the event became 'reflexive' and 'self-referential' due to the fact that the various news networks no longer referred to the time and place of the tragedy as the audience could physically see what was minute by minute (2002: 4). For him, the collective memory of 9/11 was the 'globally live broadcast'. Hoskins demonstrates how through the media people can tap into history and the past as soon as it happens. According to White (2003), September 11 was regarded as a turning point in people's lives and histories because the events were viewed even as they were happening by millions of people watching their televisions. 9/11 created a collective memory in which the whole world shared.

While the examples above may involve the role of globalizaton in helping to shape national memories there are many other ways in which national memories continue to

be reinforced and this may be through folk history, schools, oral history, friends and family but also institutions, governments and even historical programmes on TV. These all help sustain the idea of national memories in the present and even well in to the future. One response to globalization for writers such as Smith (1995) is that while national cultures are beginning to weaken the past is hard to break. Writers such as Halbwachs (1980), Lowenthal (1997), and Smith (1995) examine the role of collective memory for national identity and highlight that the strength of national memory cannot be eroded. Smith claims that "in short, a timeless global culture answers to no living needs and conjures no memories. If memory is central to identity, we can discern no global identity in the making" (1995: 24). Smith's overall argument is that globalization cannot offer myths, memories, symbols and ethnic heritage which give people a sense of security, roots and fulfilment. For Smith, global culture cannot offer "the qualities of collective faith, dignity, and hope that only a religious surrogate, with its promise of a territorial culture and community across the generations, can provide" (1995: 160). For him, the nation is rooted in the past and this shapes the future, but for Smith a global culture has no history and no memory.

Governments remain committed to the promotion of national memory and histories. For example, in September 2002 President Bush visited Nashville, Tennessee[xviii] to promote the teaching of American history. The President emphasised how important understanding American history is for children and how their nation's history should be a fundamental part of the teaching curriculum. To help initiate this idea the American government set up a programme called 'We the People[xix]'. This initiative will help raise and promote history and civic education within schools across the US.

Thus, the government have funded a programme to combat what has been termed 'American amnesia'. An article written by Bruce Cole[xx] (2002) stated that polls have shown there to be lack of knowledge of their country's history. For example, a significant number of Americans did not know who fought America in World War II. Cole states that "such collective amnesia is dangerous".

The subject of the national past has also become popular in the media. The journalist Nick Cohen (2002) states "history is more bankable at the moment than Jamie Oliver's dips or Laurence-Llewelyn Bowen's pelmets" (The Observer, 16 June 2002). In stark contrast, Yasmin Alibhai-Brown (2002) claims we "must be wary when Heritage History is flouted as the new gardening or the new cookery"(The Independent, 22 July 2002). However, there is little research on the precise role history plays within British TV programmes. During these past few years there has been an increase in the range of television programmes dealing with historical topics, including Simon Schama's *The History of Britain*, *Restoration* (which restored derelict buildings) and *Time Team* (which focused on archaeology). It is debatable whether this type of programme gives solid historical information or is produced solely for entertainment. Will Hutton (2002), for example, comments that Simon Schama's The History of Britain is good television but not an accurate account of history. For Hutton, the "programmes are too selective to constitute a true representation of the history of Britain". There may be speculation about the accuracy of historical programmes on TV but what these examples show is how the national past is continually being reinforced and producing a popular culture of historical narratives which the general public can access without leaving their homes. According to Pyke (2002), television and film have become children's main sources

of historical information, even though, as he points out, these outputs are marked by historical inaccuracies.

Within education today there is a debate about the role of the history curriculum; taken up by many writers (Cullingford, 2000; Low-Beer, 2003; Phillips, 1999b, 2003; Wood, 2003). Thus, Wood (2003) claims that the nature of national identity has come under scrutiny since devolution and has intensified interest in the constituent parts of the UK. This has increased the debate about the teaching of history and the formation of attitudes of future citizens. Low-Beer (2003) expresses a concern that the teaching of history has an over emphasis on purely national history, and regards this an issue across Europe. She perceives a danger of history teaching becoming the teaching of civics or being used as part of a nationalist agenda. These issues of the history curriculum and national identity are also being raised in Scotland (Wood, 2003). According to Wood, while Scots may have a clear sense of their national identity, their current national curriculum is "very inward looking". For Wood, the study of Scottish history is taught in very nationalistic terms, focusing on oppression of the Scots and victories by the Scots. This seems designed to reinforce Scottish identity but at the same time presents a limited picture of Scottish history.

The national past is, therefore, continuing to be re-examined and debates will continue over the teaching of national history and national identity within schools. Despite globalization there seems to be a strengthening of national memory which continues into the twenty-first century. It is not just academics but governments, journalists, TV historians and even film-makers who are continuing to produce and re-produce the national past.

Conclusion

History does play, and will continue to play, a significant role in the construction of the nation and national identity. It is clear from the arguments raised in the chapter that there is no single 'History', but instead multiple histories. There are broadly two ways in which histories are plural. Firstly, there are several sources from which an individual derives their idea of history and secondly history is constantly being re-invented and re-evaluated in a contemporary context.

There are also different theories about how we experience history and how it impacts upon national identity. It may be that the past is "enhabited" through constant reinforcement in people's daily lives and this internalised past informs our sense of history and national identity. The alternative to this is that history is reproduced through more formal institutions and occasions such as commemorations and ceremonies. There are many ways in which history can be discursive. Firstly, there are groups who re-interpret history to suit their own interests. Secondly, history will involve contestation as people selectively remember and forget events. Thirdly, there is a subjective selection process as to which parts of history appear on the school history curriculum. There are a variety of other ways in which history is discursive but these two methods of analysing history are useful tools for making the complexities of history more manageable. Indeed, collective memory, the past and national symbols play a pivotal role in the shaping of history and national identity. While at first they may appear to be straightforward, writers Allan and Thompson (1999) highlight the complexities of each of these elements. There is no simple,

unified idea of what constitutes each element but they all involve contradictions and disputes.

Many writers discuss the idea of the 'past in the present', whereby the past is continually re-constructed in the light of the demands of contemporary society and current events. For example, history textbooks are re-written as the political landscape changes, and heritage sites and museums make judgements as to what aspects of history to present and how. It is in this that Furedi (1992) suggests that the past is 're-useable'.

Some theorists have argued that the process of globalization will erode the national past and national memories. Others such as Smith (1995) do not agree with this view and contend that national memories and the national past will be preserved. Examples I have used from the realm of popular culture, and from education reinforcing the national past supports Smith's theory that globalization will not in the foreseeable future subsume national memory or the national past. However, this may not always be the case because globalization is still in its infancy.

Chapter Four

Land/Territory and National Identity

Herb and Kaplan (1999) highlight that many writers have analyzed national identity and territory as separate entities rather than exploring the significance of territory as a factor through which to understand nationalism and national identity. As they argue, territory is so inextricably linked to national identity that it cannot be viewed in isolation. Territory delimits the nation by defining the boundaries; it positions the nation and gives the community a place in which to exist. Territory, according to Herb and Kaplan, provides a basis for national identity in two ways. Internally, territory gives the community a land on which to set its roots, while externally the territory allows the community to place itself in relation to others. For them, the unique character of the nation is made tangible through the physical features of the territory. National songs and other forms of national expression usually highlight this character by referring to landscape, land use, architecture and so forth. Herb and Kaplan suggest particular emphasis is placed on rural imagery as this is taken to illustrate the naturalness of the nation and national identity and their connection to the land. Herb and Kaplan's (1999) influential book *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory and Scale* is particularly pertinent to this chapter because it highlights the relationship between land/territory and national identity.

This chapter will consider the meaning of land/territory and ask what its significance is for national identity. I will examine people's attachments to land/territory and suggest that these attachments can be understood with reference to four themes: territory as natural or innate; territory defined by those with power; emotional

attachment to territory; and territory defined as attachment to place. I will then discuss how land/territory is reproduced and reinforced through iconic artefacts such as flags and anthems as well as by institutions. Finally, I will discuss the extent to which the idea of a national homeland will be sustained in the face of globalization. I introduce the concepts of virtual communities and virtual nations and examine whether these ideals will remain pure escapism. I want to show in this chapter that while land is clearly something which is physically concrete and has an objective reality, territory is not a natural phenomenon but a social construction that is made to appear real.

What is territory/land?

As I discussed previously in this thesis, the nation is often thought of as everlasting. Using what Smith (1991) sees as the perennialist perspective, the nation is sometimes portrayed to have existed from 'time immemorial'. The same also applies to territory; it is assumed to have an ancient basis, which makes people view it as a natural phenomenon and to feel a deep connection to a particular territory/land.

Almost all people throughout the world think of themselves as belonging to a nation, land, or territory. Not many people would forget the country from which they come, where they live, or where they were born (see Williams, 1983). People normally have a strong attachment to a homeland, often regarding this as being natural, and a fundamental part of their personal identity. This shared attachment can provide a sense of shared bond between 'natives'. This bond has entered so strongly into everyday consciousness that it appears to possess almost mythical qualities (see Ignatieff, 1993). Moreover, Billig (1995) uses the example of political figures who

reinforce the nation through the emotive language they use, making reference to the collective elements of the nation through phrases like 'our home' and 'our country'.

The result is that people often attach to birthplace and, though to a lesser degree, residence a great deal of importance in relation to national identity. According to Smith, "people and territory must, as it were, belong to each other....But the earth in question cannot be anywhere; it is not any stretch of land. It is, and must be, the 'historic' land, the 'homeland', the 'cradle' of our people...A 'historic land' is one where terrain and people have exerted mutual, and beneficial, influence over several generations" (1991: 23). Clearly national territory has more significance than simply the land itself. The connection to the particular land is reinforced by a tradition of the national group exerting influence over the land. This imbues the land with a historical legacy.

For Herb and Kaplan (1999) a national homeland carries a strong emotional attachment for people. They suggest that the way in which the idea of a national homeland is emphasised in society helps to foster these emotions. For example, how the mass media presents images of territory often fuels national sentiment (see Billig, 1995), such as in the case of immigration in the UK and many other EU countries. Herb and Kaplan (1999) also suggest that there is a change over time in the relationship between a national group and its territory. In the early stages of a newly formed nation, territory is defined by the group that occupies it but as time progresses the nation becomes more established and the national group is defined by the extent of the territory. It would appear that Herb and Kaplan perceive that an illusion exists among the group that the group still defines the territory. As one can see, there is

often a large emotional investment on the part of an individual in his/her land/territory. This may come to the fore in times of conflict, which may be within a nation or between nations. However, the emotional attachment is still evident in an everyday setting, although this may not be as overt in peacetime as in wartime. This chapter will not focus on territorial conflict, but is more concerned with the 'banal' aspects of territorial attachment.

The relationship between a nation and land/territory is usually imagined as being an exclusive one that is fixed over time. Within nationalist ideology, the possession of a territory, alongside political autonomy, is one of the main criteria for the successful attainment of self-determination. However, in reality, from an historical perspective, the relationship between group identity and place is usually dynamic and fluid. Modern state boundaries give the impression of being fixed, but the boundaries of any particular group's homeland may be shifting and discontinuous. Furthermore, members of a group may well live outside its imagined historic homeland, just as members of other ethnic and national groups may live within it.

From where did the significance of territories come? Though there is a debate among academics as to when nationalism emerged, a view shared by many is that at some point in time in the last two centuries there was a change in the way people thought about their land/territory. For Harvey (1989), the ideology of nationalism proposed that a national identity could be based on state boundaries as opposed to community or locality based identities that would have been prevalent previously. Following this shift, as Anderson (1991) states, the community has to be imagined as the territory is usually larger than an individual can have personal knowledge of. Anderson (1991)

also claims that nationalism looks inwards in order to unite the nation and its component territory, and outwards to divide one nation and territory from another. For Smith (1995), nationalism leads to the creation of boundaries; it is the process which leads to the perception of 'us' within the territory and 'them' in other (usually neighbouring) territories. The above indicates that nationalism has dramatically shaped our awareness of territory.

However, definitions of territory, region, boundaries and borders over the years have caused much tension, and there is ambiguity as to what constitutes a territory, border, or region. For example, the position of many borders across the world is disputed and also borders, which are drawn for political reasons, may not necessarily be seen as borders by the people who live on or near them. According to Paasi (2000), frontiers, boundaries and borders became key issues in cultural studies and the social sciences during the 1990's. For Paasi, it was political geographers who first focused on the social construction and reproduction of territories, identities and their meanings. Previously territories and boundaries were often regarded as naturalized lines or limits of sovereignty and as something fixed. Territoriality, however, is not a given. It is determined not only by such objective factors as geography, demography, and history, but also by perceptions. Territory exists not only in the physical world but also in the popular imagination.

How is territory/ land significant for national identity?

There is a growing body of literature on borders, territories and land from a wide range of disciplines such as geography, anthropology, politics and indeed the rest of the social sciences. Smith (1991), when considering the nation and national identity,

claims that territory and people are interdependent. For Smith, in order for people to feel an attachment to territory that territory must be infused with the sentiment that defines the character of the nation. In order for this to occur the land must have historic associations such as myths and memories. Smith's work is central to the argument I put forward in this chapter and in Chapter Nine that a nation cannot exist without land/territory.

Many writers have examined the symbolic nature of land, landscape and territory and their role in the construction and mobilization of national identity (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Smith, 1986; Gruffudd, 1995). Smith (1986) looks at how landscapes, legends and maps provide people with a geographical or territorial sense of their nation. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) draw upon the invention of traditions which frequently illustrate geographical images and myths of the nation. Other writers have focused particularly on the landscape which has an impact upon national identity. Gruffudd (1995) examined the geographical discourses of Welshness and how they were promoted by the Welsh Nationalist Party, Plaid Cymru, during the first half of the twentieth century. Williams and Smith (1983, in Gruffudd, 1995) further illustrate the importance of territory in the national construction of social space by identifying the dimensions of national territory which appear in nationalist ideologies. These authors emphasize how territory/geography can impact upon the development of a nation and how myths and legends form part of the construction of territories. They also demonstrate that territories are constructions rather than objective phenomena.

Cohen's (1985) work discusses the concept of symbolic boundaries (also see Barth, 1969). These are the perceived differences between people in one community and another. There may be clearly definable differences such as religion, ethnicity, nationality, or there may be less easily defined factors which exist only in people's perceptions and will be specific to the communities in question. These symbolic community boundaries may not appear the same to people within the communities as they do to outsiders. For example, preceding Welsh devolution there was an assumption outside Wales that Wales was a sufficiently unified entity and that there would be little internal division. However, the process of devolution caused significant debate between communities inside Wales. On the large scale communities such as the EU have no real community element in this sense; it is only the small scale that community boundaries become apparent. To those outside, small-scale community differences may seem insignificant but their significance to those within the communities is much greater as it impacts heavily on their identities. Cohen's work addresses the sociological meanings people give to a particular place or community instead of focusing solely on institutions and historical state boundaries, something I return to in the latter part of the thesis.

Landscape, social space, boundaries, and homeland are all concepts which relate to nation and land/territory. Theorists discuss these concepts in a variety of ways but all link them to national identity. The common thread in all the theories I have discussed is that land/territory is imbued with some kind of historical, cultural and political meaning in the minds of the populace. It is this 'meaning' which promotes emotional attachments to territory/land. These emotions can be very powerful and may not necessarily manifest themselves in a positive way but may lead to hostility. The way

in which people attach themselves emotionally to their land/territory mirrors the way in which they embrace their national identity. This demonstrates that territory/land and national identity are inextricably linked.

Why do people come to form an attachment with a territory?

Grosby (1995) suggests that within the sociological writings on territory and nationalism, attachment to the territory of the national state is sometimes portrayed as a link considerably more enduring than attachment to the family or the surrounding locality. If this is the case, why do people come to form such a strong attachment to their territory? This section considers four inter-related ways in which social theorists explain the shaping of attachment to territory. These are: territory defined as a 'natural' entity; territory defined by those with power to define it; territory's relation to place; and emotional attachments to territory.

Territory as a natural entity

Traditionally, the discussion of territory has been led by geographers, biologists, anthropologists and psychologists who supported the idea that territorial behaviour is natural rather than learned or manufactured. Firstly, there are biological and genetic theories which argue that territoriality is an innate feature of humans. Robert Ardrey (1966), in his book the *Territorial Imperative*, claims that territory is an instinctual trait and is the most basic urge or drive in all animals. Ardrey also claims that humans are born with territoriality but learn to bury the violent defence of territory beneath layers of human culture. He compares humans to animals who are alleged to have some kind of territorial urge that enables them to defend their territory. Ardrey's view that territoriality is an instinctual, inbred trait seems a little outdated in the light

of more recent work such as Sack (1986) who suggests that territoriality is a social construct (I will discuss this more fully in the next section).

Penrose (2002) discusses the primordial attachment to a territory and suggests that this primordial view cannot be dismissed. The primordialist view holds that attachments between people and territory are natural. Penrose does not support the theory of primordialism but argues that it is vital to study primordialism in any study of the relationship between territory and national identity for two reasons. Firstly, it is the way in which many people understand their national identity. Secondly, it is the one theory which continues to figure in debate against which alternative views have been tested. Grosby (1995) holds a similar view to Penrose (2002), that primordialism must be studied as it reflects many people's view that their attachment to their country is something which is innate. For Grosby, this notion is based on the biological imperative of having land to sustain life. He sees the attachment as being based on what he calls the 'structures of nativity', i.e. place of birth, residence and lineage rather than any genetic or racial characteristics.

Territory and power

There are many writers who have contributed to the debate on the relationship between power and territory. Sack believes that territory is a reflection of power. Sack defines territoriality as the "attempts by an individual or group to affect, influence or control people, phenomena, and relationships by asserting control over a geographical area" (1986: 19). In his definition, he rejects the natural or behavioural theories of territoriality and considers human territories as a social construction. Territories, for Sack, are not static entities, but are subject to change depending on the

complex discourses of geographical scales. He links identities to the question of power and suggests control and power are key mechanisms of geographical understandings of society and space. For him, "in everyday life territoriality is related to how people use land, how they organise themselves in space and how they give meanings to place" (1986: 2). From this definition Sack highlights two points: that territoriality is a human activity and a spatial strategy and that territoriality is embedded in human spatial relations and is a conscious act to influence spatial behaviour and to implement power over people and land. Overall, for Sack, "territories are human creations, produced under particular circumstances. Once these territories have been produced they become a spatial container within which people are socialized" (1986: 216). However, it is not just explicit political power that can be expressed territorially. Sack uses the examples of a street gang claiming their territory, children being prohibited from entering some rooms in a house or people's need for their own territorial space. The work of Sack is important for understanding territory because it not only emphasises the idea that territories are socially constructed but also that they are created by people who can claim some sort of power over territories. From the work of Sack we can begin to think about how territories come to be shaped, the reasons why territories are often viewed as central to people's social world and how people perceive territories as entities that belong to them. He also comments on the political context of territorial behaviours but emphasises that territories can be shaped in a variety of other ways, on a personal and social scale.

Territory and Place

Place and territory may appear to mean the same thing, however territory has an element of ownership associated with it that place does not. As Penrose (2002)

suggests, "both place and territory refer to space that has been defined in some way and, though territory is also a place, not all places are territories" (2002: 279). People may feel a strong attachment to a particular place but may not feel any real connections to the larger picture, the territory. Writers such as Lowenthal, (1985), Gruffudd, (1999) and Smith (1999) suggest that people sustain their connection to particular places through various myths, memories and histories that are associated with a particular place. Tuan (1975: 33 cited in Penrose, 2002) emphasises that people have a strong attachment to place through the physical presence of mountains, rocks, monuments and through the associated myths. These symbolic physical sites or landscapes connect people to a specific place, which in turn binds them to a specific territory and these associations are often represented as 'innate'.

Gruffudd (1999), for example, shows how the Welsh nationalist party, Plaid Cymru, used the symbol of mountains to highlight the importance of territory for Welsh identity. This illustration is different from the above myths and memories of particular places because it suggests a rather nationalist undertone and the politicisation of the cultural heritage to emphasise territoriality. While the control of national space may be the result of the political climate of the time it nevertheless shows how the landscape was appropriated to manipulate people's feelings about place in order to create an attachment to a political ideal. Sack (1997) also draws upon the significance of people to national identity and people's attachment to land/territory. He identifies monuments, archaeological sites and place names as examples of features which reinforce people's attachment to place.

Territory and emotion

History is filled with examples of individual experiences of deep connections with particular territories. The enduring power of attachment to land /territory also brings with it an emotional affiliation. To understand the powerful emotion people feel towards their land, Smith argues that we need to appreciate how "it is also often a sacred land, the land of our forefathers, our lawgivers, our kings and sages, poets and priests which make this our homeland" (1991: 23). Territory, according to Smith, must be thought of by people as being historically rooted and this is how they come to form an emotional attachment to it. Similarly, Tuan highlights the importance of an emotional attachment to a homeland and the various symbolic features it carries with it:

> Attachment to the homeland is a common human emotion. Its strength varies among different cultures and historical periods... A homeland has its landmarks, which may be features of high visibility and public significance, such as monuments, shrines, a hallowed battlefield or cemetery. These visible signs serve to enhance a people's sense of identity; they encourage awareness of and loyalty to place. (Tuan, 1977: 158 in Sack, 1986)

Territoriality is thus associated with significant emotions among people, identifications that are crucial in maintaining attachment to a particular place. Penrose (2002) identifies four ways in which territory and emotion comes to the fore. Firstly, the naming of territory and the inclusion of a history which connects the territory with the ancient past (whether its connection is genuine or not) reinforces the 'naturalness' of the territory which becomes established in the 'natives' minds. Secondly, continual occupation of the territory provides a feeling of kinship or relationship of blood between people. This biological bond strengthens the bond to the land itself, as the bodies of the ancestors are buried in, and become part of, the land. Thirdly, people form a personal bond of attachment to particular places, a bond that makes them feel

comfortable, at peace, at home or secure. It is easy to believe that others will share this feeling of belonging, and that belief emphasises the 'inclusive' nature of territory. Fourthly, a nation's history, myths and memories are usually associated with specific places or landscapes, either where events occurred or where they are commemorated. These histories, as well as bonding people together, serve to build emotional attachments to place. There is an emotional attachment to land/territory which exists in people's minds but which is reinforced in a number of ways such as ancestry, memories and myths. In the minds of the people it seems that territory/land (as is the case with nation) has existed since time immemorial and this perception allows them to form this emotional attachment.

I have highlighted four ways in which theorists discuss people's attachment to territory; territory as a reflection of power; emotional attachment to territory/ land; territory as a natural phenomenon; and territory's relationship to place. Each of these is a legitimate way of considering land/territory and it seems likely that people's attachments to territory are formed through a combination of these four mechanisms. There is clearly a perception that territories have an historical longevity and appear natural and immutable. However, this may be partly illusory as territories clearly do change over time and are socially constructed.

National identity, national symbols and land/ territory

Bryson and McCartney (1994) suggest how national symbols such as flags, emblems and anthems are associated with territory, loyalty and authority and that they mean more to people than just a piece of cloth or music. These writers highlight that national symbols are a marker of identity and while they may be or have been at the

centre of many disagreements between ethnic and national groups they are also a source of pride and have bound many societies together. This section analyzes conceptually the development of national symbols and territorial structures and reflects upon the ways in which national symbols are actively used to claim territory. National symbols such as flags and anthems, as well as institutions such as the media will be discussed and I will address how each of these relate to national identity and land/territory.

National symbols and land/territory

Williams and Smith (1983) highlight that 'folk culture' plays a vital part in the construction of national territory. Folk culture includes national cultural practices such as the annual National Eisteddfod in Wales, a Welsh tradition which centres on arts, crafts, music and poetry. Folk culture can also include symbols such as costumes, such as the Scottish kilt, which form part of the symbolism of the national homeland. Other national symbols may include flags, anthems, art and literature. Smith (1998) claims that the power of symbols and images of territory are evident in the features of nationalism and these symbols are not confined to political use but gain quotidian symbolic value.

Anderson (1991) views the modern state as the main influence that shapes attachment to and identification with a territory through maps and censuses. Taking a census calls for setting standards of identity and then counting and sorting the population according to these characteristics. Maps not only define boundaries, but provide a visible symbol of the nation which Anderson calls the 'logo-map' (see Anderson,

1991: 170-85). Finally, there is the museum, which collects and displays the artefacts which portray the national story.

According to Breuilly (1993), nationalist movements make use of symbols and ceremonies to promote a unified image of the nation and to draw people into a collective sentiment about the nation. While Breuilly's work is concerned with nationalists who are responsible for reproducing national symbols in order to reinforce associations to land/territory, Billig (1995) sees political elites and the media as 'flagging' the homeland. According to Billig, national symbols 'flag' the nation so often that people are not consciously aware of it but it becomes so instilled in people's minds that the homeland could never be forgotten. He does not see this as a negative process but suggests that it is a 'form of life' in which people are constantly invited to feel 'at home' within their territory.

It is not just the obvious political figures who can be seen as symbolizing the land/nation; sportspeople often reinforce the nation and the national character. On many occasions sport is associated with flags. Sport encourages the use of national symbols both for the spectators and the athletes themselves. For example, the athlete Colin Jackson, after winning a gold medal for the 110 metre hurdles at the World Athletic Championships in 1999, was draped in the Welsh flag. The promotion of national flags at sporting events may form part of the celebratory ritual, but the example of Colin Jackson was documented by the media because it highlighted the power of national symbols in reinforcing images of homeland.

According to Bryson and McCartney (1994), "flags are a mark of identity: they identify ourselves, they identify others and they provide a sign around which people can gather" (1994: 8). This points to how important flags are and how they also become markers for land/territory and national identity. Not all flags promote harmony; they can be used to promote difference. Bryson and McCartney highlight this by using the example of a flag that was similar to the Nazi Swastika which was used by Afrikaner Weerstands Beweging, a right wing pressure group in South Africa. This flag was seen by the people of South Africa as supporting the Nazi beliefs of racial purity and while this group denied that this was the message the flag conveyed, due to the various social and political changes that occurred in South Africa during the 1990's the group withdrew their use of the flag because of the racial tension it caused.

Billig (1995) notes that the anthropologist Raymond Firth (1973) wrote about the importance of flags in contemporary society and looked at the differences between the 'symbolic nature' and the 'signalling function' of flags. Firth (1973) claims that "the national flag today performs a symbolic function, being a 'condensation symbol' and 'focus for sentiment about society" (in Billig, 1995: 39). Billig states there are flags which portray a powerful message and he draws upon examples from Belfast in Northern Ireland. He discusses how in republican areas the Irish Tricolour is presented as a signal of mutiny against British sovereignty, while in loyalist districts the kerbstones are often painted with patterns of the Union Jack which symbolise support for the British Crown (Billig, 1995). This example shows how flags can be used to support sovereignty, and how they are used to symbolize nationhood among people and how the flag becomes a constant feature of their daily landscape. Flags

are not the only symbols which mark the homeland; bank notes, coins, memorabilia and other national emblems also reinforce the nation in similarly 'banal' ways.

As the previous example underlines, not all countries have a harmonious relationship with territory or neighbouring territories. National symbols can also create division and hostility, or in some cases national symbols can be used to smooth over differences and to promote union. Bryson and McCartney (1994) highlight how countries that have experienced ethnic conflicts have used sporting events to promote national pride. For example, the national symbols of both Spain and Catalonia were used in the Barcelona Olympics in order to avoid conflict, thus national symbols were used in a positive way to promote Spanish and Catalonian identities.

National anthems, monuments and land/territory

National anthems are played routinely at national concerts and sporting events to remind people of their nation. National anthems can be seen as one of the most explicit means by which the nation is symbolised and they quite often contain territorial references. These may take the form of generic references to and land or more specific suggestions to particular places or landscape features such as monuments or rivers. Hobsbawm (1992) claims that during the First World War Austria, through the use of territorial images, created a national anthem that "involved a travelogue or geography lesson following alpine streams down from glaciers to the Dunube valley and Vienna" (1992: 92). For him, anthems use generic landscape features of the country to remind people of their nation. In a similar vein 'Flower of Scotland' evokes a rugged rural landscape, one which is defended against the rival (England).

Memorials, monuments and architecture focus attention on specific places and events and are central to the construction of the symbolic power of the landscape. Edensor (2002) claims that iconic sites are selective features which have explicit qualities. He uses examples of Stonehenge and the Taj Mahal as symbolising a glorious past, the Arc de Triomphe and Nelson's Column as a symbol of national history and the Empire State Building as a symbol of modernity. Each iconic site according to Edensor is constructed, manufactured and organised in order to reinforce the territory and its identity.

There are numerous references in the nationalist discourse to generic features of landscape. Lowenthal (1994, in Edensor, 2002) highlights how the landscape epitomizes the English countryside. According to Edensor (2002), these landscapes of the English countryside that typify Englishness are very selective. They only focus on specific areas such as London and the Home Countries. There are also examples of specific places that assume symbolic importance. The White Cliffs of Dover are an iconic marker of England, as Ben Nevis is to Scotland. Images of these places can be used in the media to symbolise the land/territory and national identity. There is nothing unique about mountains, coastlines or woods. All nations can claim these features, but in the nationalist discourse these elements are given some symbolic status. The nation promotes itself through reference to its geography and these places collectively define the territory and become representative of the territory in the national imagination.

Another way that place can be given national meaning is through political art. A powerful construction of national symbols can be found in Northern Ireland where there are communities which produce lively political wall murals through which loyalists and republicans display their fears, hopes, struggles and aspirations. While these national symbols are used to generate a political framework, these same symbols also become powerful markers of identity in terms of differences between 'us' and 'them' or republicans and loyalists, or Protestants and Catholics.

The way that land/territory is symbolized is a complex combination of specific national symbols such as the flag or the anthem, reinforcement of particular places of importance and non-specific generic features of the land. The geographic features are used symbolically to reinforce attachments to land/territory.

Institutions and land/territory

The work of Billig (1995) is particularly illuminating for demonstrating the ways in which institutions such as the media are implicated in the process of reinforcing national identity and the homeland. He talks about the 'flagging' of the nation which is evident in daily routines, commemorations, and sporting events and is also found in other daily manifestations such as the way the weather is reported in the daily newspapers. For Billig, it is the banal nature of these images that creates the heart of national identity, through the construction of the collective 'we', 'our land, 'our customs' and 'our identity' (1995: 70-71). Furthermore, he discusses 'flagging the homeland daily', whereby routine words used by newspapers, particularly in the tabloids, such as 'we', 'our' and 'us', reinforce the connection between the reader and the homeland (1995: 107).

Institutions, whether they be political, cultural, economic or formal organizations (such as governmental or administrative), are all capable of reproducing territoriality and some form of symbolism. Even cultural icons help bolster the homeland. For example, the media gave a great deal of exposure to singer Shirley Bassey when she marked the opening of the 1999 Rugby World Cup by attending the Millennium Stadium in Cardiff wearing a dress featuring a Welsh flag. This gesture has been documented as a powerful reinforcement of Wales and its identity. Through their various processes and practices, institutions are integral to the role of territory/land in the shaping of national identity. They provide attachments inside a particular territory which are reproduced and sustained.

National symbols clearly reinforce the idea of land/territory through flags, anthems, institutions, and monuments to varying degrees. They may, as Edensor (2002) suggest, be selective, organised and constructed but this does not take away the sheer power and significance that these symbols and iconic sites are given within a particular territory. The three types of national symbols mentioned in this chapter, flags, anthems, and monuments all have a different role to play in bolstering national feeling. Flags act primarily as a symbol of ownership. Monuments normally signify a particular historic event, or instil commemoration or remembrance. Anthems serve to reinforce a community feeling through a shared experience. Although these symbols operate differently they all play the same basic role of reinforcing identity by emphasising land/territory and history. While these symbols are not at the forefront of people's minds on a quotidian basis their symbolic meaning, when used, is powerful. As I have argued, territories are not static entities but will change and

transform over time. Territories can fragment or amalgamate and boundaries often change but national symbols appear to endure. While national symbols, in reality, may change over time people imagine them to have historical longevity.

Land/territory, national identity and globalization

According to Donnan and Wilson (1999), the institutionalisation of land/territory usually means the de-institutionalisation of the previous territory and region. These writers suggest that dissolution and formation of territories, and also 'deterritorialization' and 'reterritorialization' is taking place all the time and on all spatial scales, not only observed at the local, regional, national level but also on an international level. The work of Donnan and Wilson (1999) raises an important point in relation to the images of territoriality that are, to an increasing degree, being challenged by flows of people, goods and capital across borders. This final section re-examines many assumptions about space, place and national identity and their relationship to land/territory. I argue that while globalization may bring challenges to nations in terms of fragmentation or merging of territories, at present both national identity and land/territory are being sustained. New forms of spaces and territories, made possible by technology such as global media networks or virtual communities, currently provide a diversion or escape from 'real' nations, but I will argue that these new forms will not, in the foreseeable future, replace traditional nations.

Territorial shaping: deterritorialization, boundaries and space

As I have mentioned Donnan and Wilson (1999) highlight the processes of 'deterritorialization'. This development was also discussed in Chapter Two and must be taken into account when understanding the relationship between territory and

globalization. Deterritorialization of territories refers to the ways in which power and meaning are increasingly disembedded from nation-state territories, and thus the territory loses its power and significance in everyday life. There are many theories concerning deterritorialization and a deterritorialized 'borderless world'. This section will focus on two ways in which deterritorialization is seen to undermine territories. The first is through the emergence of global flows of goods, and services and information, and transnational networks of people. The second concerns the challenges to national identities via the emergence of transnational identities and diasporas.

Some writers suggest that advances in communication and information technology are intensifying and this process have become a key element of globalization. The most influential theorist in this area is Castells (1996) who argues that we live in an 'informational age' which has created a new 'network society'. According to Castells, until the 1970's society operated through places such as neighbourhoods, regions and states; Castells refers to these as 'spaces of places'. However, in the modern era, the linkages of society include information networks, satellite transmissions, international travel networks and transnational businesses; he refers to these as 'spaces of flows' (1996: 412-413). For Castells (1989), the possible extension of this situation could entail a diminishing of sovereignty and erosion of the nation-state, blurring and disappearance of boundaries and the emergence of a dynamic interconnected society. Castells sees these possibilities as the future challenges to national identity and territories.

Lash and Urry (1994) claim there has been an increase in movement of people, images, and information across local and national borders, and thus people are increasingly likely to have more in common with individuals and groups living in another part of their city or country, even in another country, than with their next-door neighbours. They suggest people's social spaces are also increasingly likely to vary more widely due to globalization and as a result the territorial community will begin to weaken and the various political communities, whether local, regional or national, will become less influential. Lash and Urry highlight how features such as the deterritorialization of flows of goods, people and images no longer belong to a given place or territory in any meaningful way.

According to Paasi (1996), boundaries are one part of the processes of institutionalization in which territories, identities and meanings are produced and reproduced. For him, understanding how boundaries, territory and state are incorporated in daily life lets us examine the significance of boundaries in a world of changing spaces and increasing flows of information. Thus, for Paasi, if their territories or borders are beginning to fragment people will easily migrate somewhere else. The processes of spatial movement, interaction and communication challenge the routines and traditional processes through which borders and boundaries have been maintained by tradition. This is the result of transnationalism and diaspora. Because of these effects there has been a growing concern among academics, policy makers and politicians about refugees and immigrants and how they will begin to affect the traditional nation-state identities and nationally bounded places. In the contemporary world, many people change their spatial location, chief among them immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers. As David Blunkett, British Home Secretary,

(2002) claims, globalization has "raised the degree of migration throughout the world". He also states that there are over 169 million people living outside their country of origin and 21 million people who are refugees or people from displaced communities. (The Observer, 15th September 2002). As we can see, politicians are addressing issues of migration and diasporic populations.

Appadurai suggests that "we need to think ourselves beyond the nation" (1996: 169). Part of his work focuses on the idea of a nation flourishing transnationally in relation to migrant communities. According to Appadurai, global flows of mass-mediated images produce diasporic public spheres (for example Pakistani cabdrivers in Chicago listening to sermons recorded in Iranian mosques). What Appadurai (1996) emphasizes is that modern diaspora are differentiated from past forms of migration due to the mass-media which can go beyond the boundaries of national space and create communities to which people feel some connection. Appadurai's work focuses on certain displaced people who have come to reconnect with the homeland in significant ways. This has had far-reaching effects on diasporic communities, and has fundamentally changed the ways in which they imagine 'home' and reconstitute their identities. At present we have not reached a postnational state and the nation is still strong but Appadurai's views on the changing nature of territories and diasporic communities nevertheless point to ways in which the nation-state is being challenged by globalization.

While globalization affects people and places throughout the world, it does not affect everyone in the same way. Territories, boundaries and borders remain spatially differentiated, with some becoming more permeable (such as in western Europe).

Despite the various changes in boundaries, territories and even spatial development, national identity at present is not in decline and continues to play a significant role. The challenges raised by deterritorialization, transnationalism and diasporic communities may result in a variety of networks and boundaries being created and territorial identities being weakened. These processes do however make possible the notion of multiple identities and 'fluid' identities whereby people do not have one attachment to a particular place or land but instead have several identities and attachments that may exist simultaneously on a local, global and national level. While people may have a variety of attachments to places or territories there is a concern as to what extent these attachments will remain strong through the process of globalization. This has inspired writers to discuss the possibility of territories disappearing and the idea of a virtual nation.

According to some writers (Harvey, 1989; Giddens, 1990; Castells, 1997), the process of globalization has lead to a vast array of social, economic, political, technological, and cultural communications, global media marketing and telecommunication networks, transnational virtual communities, and multinational organizations. Harvey (1989) highlights the accelerating flows of capital, people and ideas, stating that we are experiencing 'time-space compression'. For Harvey, communities or individuals across the globe can interact concurrently regardless of physical separation, thus time and space are effectively compressed. This spatial and temporal proximity may reduce the world into what he calls a 'global village'. This, according to Harvey, might force us all to re-evaluate the way we think of our place in the world, and to what space, place or society we belong.

According to Robins (1995), many people consider themselves as 'citizens of the world' or feel that they have a virtual existence in cyberspace. Numerous writers (Robins, 1995; Irvine, 1998; and Sassen, 1998) examine the impact of global technology on people's boundaries, communities and attachments. The development of new electronic communication technologies, it is suggested, has led to new levels of interaction and more interdependence among people and rrecent accounts of these various transformations raise the possibility that territories and boundaries are beginning to vanish. According to writers such as Urry (2000) and Castells (2000), the Internet has developed into a system enabling communication that cannot be controlled by national societies. Globalization processes are making territories and national borders more permeable, resulting in the growth of global awareness and the possibility of nations and national identities being diminished. Many people are more mobile and can travel more freely from one territory to another. People now imagine themselves as belonging to a wider community than just their physical environment. The creation of this ever expanding 'global culture' (Featherstone, 1990), combined with an extensive expansion of awareness beyond people's territories and boundaries, leads to the possibility of a virtual community or even a virtual nation[xxi].

A few writers (Irvine, 1998; Sassen, 1998) claim that with a widening variety of relationships and group attachments that go beyond the immediate environment or territory/homeland, it may be possible to conceive of virtual communities[xxii]. The role of transnationalism is important here because it is predicted among theorists that transnational links will eventually erode notions of boundary and cultural units which will be replaced by virtual communities. Writers such as Irvine (1998) and Sassen (1998) claim that the many ties which once distinguished neighbourhoods are

replaced in cyberspace[xxiii] by multiple and far more extensive networks of weaker ties. Many virtual places are not referred to as communities but rather as websites, which are managed by individuals rather than groups (Luke, 1999 in Featherstone *et al.* 1995). For example, on the Internet you can create your own virtual nation[xxiv] (see www.citytel.net/~fbalazs/), where you can imagine yourself belonging to a nation with its own language, culture and history. At present virtual nations are little more than a distraction or a form of escapism, however in principle every aspect of a nation could be reproduced in a virtual nation except one – land. I would argue that without this fundamental basis of physical space the potential of virtual nations to challenge traditional nations is severely limited. The questions surrounding virtual reality[xxv], virtual worlds and cyberspace are being addressed by writers such as Featherstone and Burrows (1995).

Robins (1995), (in Featherstone and Burrows, 1995) does not talk about the idea of virtual nations, but discusses virtual worlds and communities. Robins suggests that the idea of virtual communities or cyberspace is a utopian idea and it is something of a "consensual hallucination" (1995: 135). He claims it is too easy to think of virtual reality in utopian terms as an alternative reality and space because the advertizing of the virtual technology makes people believe they can leave their own world and enter the virtual world. Robins gives a detailed account of how virtual reality and cyberspace have been considered and he suggests that these offer some kind of "technological fix for a world gone wrong" (1995: 152). He argues that rather than see the idea of virtual worlds and cyberspace as an alternative to the real world, we should "begin from the real world, which is the world in which virtual communities are being imagined" (1995: 152). The work of Robins may seem a little premature,

as presently the number of people who imagine themselves belonging to a real community far outweighs the number of people who feel they belong to a virtual community. His work nevertheless highlights that, due to the existence of cyberspace, we can no longer talk of a single world as there may be alternative worlds in which people can operate. Although we are witnessing these possibilities in their early stages one cannot predict to what extent, if any, virtual communities may develop. At present territory/land still remains our basic currency of the nation.

Conclusion

Land is the most basic prerequisite for a nation, but while land itself is clearly concrete and real, territory is a social construction existing on a temporary basis but having the illusion of permanency. Territory is imbued with historical and mythical meaning and people have a strong emotional attachment to it, commonly feeling that the territory is a natural element. This attachment can be used for political gain to create unity or division to bolster peace or harmony. This chapter has drawn out the significance of land/territory for national identity. The work of writers such as Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Gruffudd (1991) and Smith (1991) show how land/territory is an important factor in the development of national identity, and this area of study has come increasingly to the fore in recent years. Each of these writers has presents a different account of land/territory and national identity and there are parallels between the way territory is defined and the way the nation is defined. Both, for example, incorporate myths, legends, histories and boundaries. The work in this field has largely been theoretical in form and I would argue that more empirical research is needed to explore the basics reasons for land/territory having an importance in people's lives.

I have presented four explanations of how people come to form attachments to land/territory, and each of these ways is a legitimate route to understanding this attachment. It is likely that it is a combination of all these factors, and possibly others which, bring people to form attachments with their land. Flags, anthems and monuments each appear to play a role in reinforcing the connection to land/territory in political, celebratory or banal ways. Each are implicated in practices that often confirm the deep rootednesss of territoriality. However, markers of territory, such as flags, are often incorporated into pop culture, such as the case of the Union Jack being used as a fashion motif. This could be construed as an increased interest in national identity amongst young people.

Globalization opens up many new possibilities for the future of land/territory. The reality of transnational trade, communications and travel provide challenges to traditional boundaries and territories. In the globalized world people can have more complex networks of attachments that are not necessarily tied to a specific country. The extension of these phenomena would be the virtual communities and the virtual nation. Several of these virtual communities have been created, however, at present, they remain nothing more than interesting but trivial diversions. Despite the forces of globalization, land/territory continues to be significant in forming people's national identities. People continue to position themselves with respect to place, and to define their national identity based on land/territory.

Chapter 5

Methodological Issues

As I have argued so far, there has been a tendency for scholars to be principally concerned with a purely theoretical understanding of the nation and national identity. As Edensor (2002) remarks, too much emphasis has been placed on the historical foundations of the nation and its "political lineaments" rather than on exploring critically how the nation is understood and experienced through everyday life (2002: 1). In order to understand the phenomena of nation and national identity some theoretical underpinning is necessary because there are some abstract concepts to understand and there is an array of surrounding debates. There has, however, been an increase in empirical research over the last decade by social psychologists, sociologists and socio-linguists on national identity which has analyzed how people actively construct their own national identity (McCrone *et al.*, 1998; Fevre and Thompson, 1999; Condor, 2000; Wodak *et al.*, 1999.) Very few studies have focused on children or young people (see Lemish *et al.*, 1998; Livingstone, 1998; Barrett 2002, Scourfield and Davies, 2002). These studies are beginning to highlight the significance of national identity for children and young people, through how young people interact with media technology and how children identify with their national group. What this research does not tend to explore are the underlying issues, such as what it means to have a national identity or belong to a nation, or investigate factors associated with national identity such as culture or history. These types of issues often get overlooked, yet consideration of them is necessary in order to understand what the nation and national identity mean to people. Many of the studies carried out on young people are based in Europe[xxvi] (see Jamieson, 2001 Youth and European

Identity) and very little research has been carried out in Britain. This is an under developed and under researched area in the UK that needs to be addressed. Within Wales in particular studies of youth are at a very early stage indeed.

To this point, the thesis has focused on the theoretical material dealing with nationalism, the nation and national identity. Despite the large amount of literature devoted to these phenomena, comparatively little attention has been paid to the ways in which these concepts are studied in practice. This chapter will now examine some of the ways in which national identity has been, or, turning to my own work, may be empirically researched. The chapter discusses my own empirical investigation of national identity among young people in South Wales. In particular, the discussion settles on the use of focus groups as a means of generating data to understand young people's perspectives on and experiences of national identity.

Researching young people, through the focus group method

As was explained in the Introduction, the purpose of this study is to better understand young people's perceptions of what national identity means to them. An interpretative methodology was been chosen in order to provide rich, descriptive data on young peoples' views on national identity and, more particularly, on Wales and Welshness. The study was carried out in the setting of schools and data collection relied on qualitative interviewing through focus groups. The goal was to capture and explore young peoples' perspectives of their national identity.

The project employed qualitative research methods to consider attitudes of sixth formers within thirteen schools in Cardiff and the south Wales valleys. Three of these

schools were Welsh-medium schools. In total 28 focus groups were conducted, including three focus groups carried out in youth clubs in the community of Pontypridd. A total of 145 young people took part. As this was a qualitative study, the rationale for sample selection was to ensure diversity of coverage across certain key variables rather than to select a statistically representative sample of all young people. The schools were chosen to take into account a range of variables such as, location, ethnicity, language and gender. The information about schools in South Wales was obtained from the Welsh Joint Education Committee[xxvii] (WJEC). The sample was selected from across locations in Cardiff and the four south Wales valleys, the Merthyr, Cynon, Rhondda and Rhymney valleys. All participants were in full-time education studying A or AS level and were aged between 16 and 18. The sample was composed of nearly equal numbers of males and female pupils. Two two-hour group interview sessions were carried out in each school and two different groups of students participated in each school. The focus group interviews took place over a one and a half year period from September 2002 to February 2003. The reason for the long period of interviews was that many students had exams twice a year, and therefore the interviews were scheduled around the young peoples' timetables. Each group comprised five students.

Four topics were covered in total, exploring two topics in each session and two in the second. The first topics covered were nation/national identity and culture. The second themes discussed were history and land. The main objective of the first stage of the research was to explore what national identity means to the participants and to what extent culture, the Welsh language and politics inform the processes through which national identity is reproduced. The second stage of the research focused on the

importance of land, history and to ask about generational change. The key concern was to ask why people attach themselves to a particular land or territory, how important land and history are to the participants and how significant the role of history teaching in schools is for national identity. The chief aim of using focus groups was to look at the ways in which young people negotiate what it means to be Welsh, and how they talk about it by enabling them to engage in a group discussion. The focus of the interpretation of the discourse is to analyse the words and phrases the young people use in connection with their national identity, consider what meanings these words and phrases carry and ask why these particular words and phrases have been used.

Why focus groups?

In the last decade there has been an increased amount of discussions on the use of focus groups for social science research (see Kreuger, 1998; Gilbert, 2001; Fern, 2001 and Bryman, 2004). According to Morgan (1998), focus groups can be regarded as a form of group interviewing but the difference between group interviews and focus groups must be noted. A group interview focuses on various questions being asked by the interviewer and responses given by the interviewees, whereas focus groups are more about interaction among the group on topics and debates given to the participants by the interviewer. The rationale for using focus groups in this study, as opposed to individual one-to-one interviews, was that I felt that speaking in a group would be less daunting for the young people, and would result in a friendlier, and hopefully more frank discussion of national identity. I anticipated that the different opinions expressed would lead to debate among the participants. More specifically, the intention in using the focus group method was to create an environment in which

the group could talk through the meanings of words and phrases, and in which participants could feel comfortable asking each other for clarification. Focus groups can be just as researcher directed as other qualitative methods, and arguably more so than some (such as some forms of biographical research), the upside of this approach is that, if successful, the researcher can withdraw at times and allow the group to 'take over'.

The main purpose of focus group research is to draw out participants' views, experiences, beliefs and feelings in a way in which would not be practical using other types of qualitative research methods, such as one-to-one interviewing, or carrying out questionnaires (Bloor *et al.*, 2001). Morgan (1998) highlights that when using focus groups there are various strengths and weaknesses. The main strengths of using focus groups is that a greater depth of opinion can be gleaned than in a straightforward interview or questionnaire as the ongoing conversational element of the group allows for repeated questioning and elaboration, and also the members bounce ideas and opinions off one another. This will often lead to new avenues of questioning being revealed. Focus groups are useful for drawing out conditional opinions or multiplex motivations. It is a particularly good method for examining words people use or for discourse analysis. The weakness of focus groups lies in a tendency for responses to differ from people's true opinions due to both peer pressure to conform in opinion with the group and also an obligation to be on one's 'best behaviour' in a formal situation; this can preclude controversial or unpopular opinion being expressed. Unless the focus group is tightly monitored by the researcher the conversation can either stray from topic or conversely become to rigid and to the

personality of the researcher can lead the direction of the conversation rather than letting the participants opine freely.

One of the reasons why I chose focus groups was to create small group interaction where young people's voices could be heard. According to Bryman (2004) "the focus group offers the researcher the opportunity to study the ways in which individuals collectively make sense of phenomena and construct meanings around it. It is a central tenet of theoretical positions like symbolic interactionism that the process of coming to terms with social phenomena is not undertaken by individuals in isolation from each other. In this sense, therefore, focus groups reflect the processes through which meaning is constructed in everyday life". (2004: 348). Instead of the researcher asking each person to respond to a question in turn, people were encouraged to talk to one another, ask each other questions, exchange stories and comment on each other's experiences and views. This method was particularly useful for exploring the participants' knowledge and experiences of nation and national identity in Wales. It was also used to examine not only what people think but also how and why they think that way, matters crucial to the thesis. Another reason why I chose the focus group method is that group interaction can help people to explore and clarify their views in ways that may be less accessible in a one-to-one interview. As the interviewer, I used a series of open-ended questions and encouraged participants to explore the issues of significance to them. Through the use of focus groups I could explore the words people used and their exact meanings when talking about national identity. For example, a common theme was being 'proud' of ones national identity. I asked each member what the word 'proud' meant to them, giving them the opportunity to explain what they meant by these words and drawing out the different

meanings that words had for each participant, as well as allowing other members of the group to intervene when they wished to do so.

On many occasions I would digress from the questions prepared, and asked the questions in a less academic form as the conversations developed and this, I believe, enabled me to gain a wealth of information. Gaining access to such spontaneous communication is useful because people's knowledge and attitudes are not entirely summarized in reasoned responses to direct questions. Everyday forms of communication may tell us as much, if not more, about what people know or experience. I found that, overall, these young people have a very strong sense of national identity and I wanted to have them explain in more detail what it means to have a national identity by exploring the way that they express their feelings on the subject. I would argue that focus groups reach the parts that other methods cannot reach, revealing elements of understanding that often remain untouched by more conventional data collection techniques. Cronin (in Gilbert, 2001) puts forward the idea that focus groups enables researchers to explore in great detail the participants' experiences and opinions. She also differentiates between a one-to-one interview and the focus group interview claiming that focus groups are more determined upon interaction between participants. In the case of national identity, regarded by researchers as difficult to access in many settings, the focus group method was found to be very effective.

Qualitative and quantitative research methods and focus groups

Bell suggests that in quantitative research "researchers collect facts and study the relationship of one set of facts to another. They measure, using scientific techniques

that are likely to produce quantified and, if possible, generalizable conclusions" (1987:4). In her discussion of qualitative methods, she comments that researchers adopting a qualitative perspective are more concerned to understand individuals' perceptions of the world and they focus on insight rather than statistical analysis. The underlying rationale for my research was the improvement of my own and other's understanding of the nation and national identity, and in turn their relationship with culture, history and land/territory. I focused on exploring qualitative research methods in order to understand these phenomena (May, 1997). While I acknowledge that there are research areas where quantitative approaches are appropriate, it is my view that a quantitative model would not support my research objectives (Black, 1999). I was not presenting a hypothesis for scientific investigation but systematically exploring and examining people's perceptions of the world. This was not an issue which could be observed and measured by means of a controlled investigation and presented in terms of quantitative data from which scientific explanations could be drawn and applied to other circumstances.

To find out how young people engage in discussions about national identity, culture, history and land/territory this research used semi-structured qualitative interviews. According to Kitzinger (1999), focus groups are a form of qualitative research and this is an excellent method to use. Semi-structured interviews can be different from unstructured interviews in that key objectives and questions are developed in advance of the interview. In the context of my research, semi-structured interviews provided a method of collecting data that was suitable for each participant, but also had the potential to cope with new issues and topics as they arose. Semi-structured interviews are generally conducted with particular topics in mind from which questions are

generated (Singleton *et al.* 1993). Questions are posed as generally as possible and responses are tackled and clarified by the interviewer through various reflective comments and follow-up questions (Snyder, 1992). As I have already highlighted, four topics were used as a basis for discussion and within each topic came a set of sub-questions.

A view from within: the research interviews

Trying to gain access to participants proved to be rather problematic. At the start, a list of schools within Cardiff and the south Wales valleys was provided by the WJEC. Over twenty schools from across the four valleys and Cardiff were contacted by letter stating the nature of the research. To ensure diversity, the schools chosen included a Catholic school, single sex boy and girls schools, a private school, three Welsh-medium schools and a 'multi-ethnic' school.

Initially only a handful of replies were received but contact was established by telephone in several cases. I visited each school that expressed interest to meet the head teacher; this was vital to establish rapport and to gain access to the school. Negotiating dates to visit the schools proved difficult due to the immense pressure of school timetabling and finding free sessions when the participants could meet. The follow up visits were made a year later. Visiting the schools proved very successful, although it took a long time to complete and was frustrating on many occasions. Nevertheless, it became a valuable part of the research.

Ethical issues

It is extremely important that when carrying out research on children and young people ethical issues be taken into consideration. According to Homan (1991), ethical reflections for carrying out focus groups are the same as for most other methods of social science research. For example, when selecting and involving participants, researchers must ensure that full information about the purpose and uses of participants' contributions is given. One of the key issues of focus groups is to be truthful and to make sure that the participants are conversant with the topics being discussed and about the expectations of the group. I also underwent a police check before beginning the research. At the start, the interviewer should explain that each participant's name will be changed and pseudonyms will be used, so that all quotes are anonymous and cannot be attributed to any individual interviewee. In order to investigate my area of study I followed the BSA (British Sociological Association) guidelines on how to carry out sociological research as well as those of the Qualidata[xxviii] archive on ethical issues in carrying out interviews.

The pilot study

Having devised the questions for the research it was essential that a pilot study be carried out. This consisted of two focus groups of five members, using semi-structured interviews. The pilot study asked young people aged between 12 and 17 to express their views on national identity and its relationship with popular culture. This turned out to be a good way of getting young people to talk in a friendly group about a range of topics. Before the pilot study I had reservations about the ability of young people to explain in any depth why they felt as they did about their national identities. I suspected that they would not be able to answer supplementary questions regarding

why they used the words and phrases that they did. However, the focus group was successful and I found I could obtain the interesting data I needed. It became evident that the children aged 12 and 13 were too young for the discussions around Welsh history and culture. Therefore, the sample frame chosen was 16-18 year olds. One strategy that was developed further as a result of its success in the pilot was the use of visual aids. Enlarged postcards with Welsh themes and the use of video were excellent devices to engage participants further in discussions that may have been otherwise difficult. The data and insight gained from the pilot study informed the researcher that more questions about identity and culture could be added.

Role of the researcher in focus groups

The researcher is vital to the success of the focus group. In advance of the focus group reminder telephone calls were made to the schools to secure a commitment from the potential participants. Focus group participants were informed that the group discussion would last for no longer than 1 hour 30 minutes, before having a break and that time frame must be adhered to. If not, many participants will start to exhibit signs of boredom or restlessness if kept too long. Each group lasted about 1 hour before we stopped for about a 5-minute break in which crisps and soft drinks were given out. The access to drinks and snacks broke up the intensity of the interview and gave the participants a chance to have a break. This was very useful and was highly appreciated.

Using an appropriate tool for recording is vital. Ideally the group discussions should be tape recorded and transcribed. A flip chart was used in the research to make lists of various things. This enables the group to reflect on what they have written and to

promote further discussion. I tape-recorded all the discussions. While there may have been value in video taping the sessions, I felt that the camera may have been too intrusive and the participants may have felt uncomfortable and suppressed their discussion.

After the introductions, the general purpose of the focus group was repeated, and warm-up questions about wining the national lottery, the World Cup or the recent game shows like *Big Brother* were asked to facilitate discussion. Each member of the group was informed that their responses are neither right nor wrong. I started the session by asking open-ended questions. As participants became more comfortable with contributing to the discussion, they became more specific and direct. For example, "what does the word proud to be Welsh mean to you?" By adopting this approach I could begin to make sense of the meanings people attach to these words and why they use these words. Each session lasted up to two hours. Later on in the session I adopted a more leading style, here I recommended debate amongst the members and encouraged disagreements within the groups explaining that members of the groups can disagree with one another if they wished.

Several of the group exercises proved successful. A particularly useful exercise consisted of presenting the group with a series of statements on cards. The group members were asked collectively to sort these cards into different piles depending on, for example, their degree of agreement or disagreement with that point of view or the importance they assigned to that particular aspect. For example, I used cards to explore issues such as heritage, land and culture. Such exercises encourage participants to concentrate on one another (rather than on the interviewer) and

encourage them to explain their different perspectives. I found this a worthwhile and enjoyable exercise. Finally, I found it beneficial at the end of the session to ask each participant what they thought of the focus group, this gives the group the opportunity to speak to the interviewer about their thoughts and feelings of the session. Each participant claimed that it was a very enjoyable experience and stated that I had asked them questions they had never thought about before.

Data analysis and interpretation of the data

People can forget important details easily so writing the field notes as soon as possible after the focus group is imperative. A journal was kept of every focus group. This enabled me to reflect on each group, how the group responded and any anomalies that occurred, such as other classroom noise or the school bell, on many occasions I had to ask the participants to repeat what they were saying.

Transcribing over forty hours of interviewing was a daunting task. I transcribed over half of the tapes myself and had the rest of the tapes transcribed by a professional. While some may argue that researchers do not need to do their own transcription, others are adamant that the quality of the analysis is improved if researchers transcribe their own data. Although I had some of the tapes transcribed I still went through each transcription carefully to make sure there were no discrepancies.

There are several data management packages available, such as SPSS and NUDIST, but I wanted to analyze the data manually and familiarise myself with the data by re-reading and finding the common themes in the research (May, 1997). Once all the interviews were read it was time to detect the various themes that appeared. These

were noted, highlighted and coded. These codes were 1, national identity, culture; 2, land; 3, and 4, history. This coding is time-consuming, but in order to manage the data I had to create numerous files. In coding the many transcripts I used certain categories for certain types of discussions, such as stories, jokes, and other information not valid to the research and various questions participants asked.

There are many drawbacks to analysing group dynamics. The first is that communicating in a large group may silence individual voices, there is usually one member who dominates the group leaving the quieter members unheard. In order to try and alleviate the problem I tried to include the silent voices, encouraging them to speak; which on the whole, proved fruitful.

Limitations and changes to the research

Results of this study are not meant as a generalization of the students in the sixth form school or surrounding area. The choice of a sixth form school may affect the applicability of the findings. Having carried out the research only within schools in Cardiff and the south Wales valleys, the sample frame is relatively small and thus no wider conclusions about young people and national identity in Wales can be made. Due to the huge demand upon young people carrying out their AS and A levels I would like to carry out further research on young people in other areas of Wales to see if any comparisons can be made. Despite the many problems I had obtaining access to young people in sixth-form schools I would once again use focus groups to interview young people in schools. I would however be more aware of background noise and ensuring all voices are clearly heard. Furthermore, as the researcher in this study, my own bias and prejudice may influence the gathering and interpreting of

data. Although bias cannot be eliminated, I worked to limit its effect by explicitly recognizing it.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined some of the main features of carrying out focus group research on young people. I have highlighted the benefits of carrying out focus groups and how interaction among participants and group dynamics is important. This is what makes this type of qualitative method successful. The time it takes to conduct focus group research may discourage researchers from attempting to collect data using this method. Focus group research I believe can be an empowering process for participants, and for researchers who want to gain a deeper understanding and perspective on topics of interest that may not be covered by other forms of methods such as questionnaires. I would argue more research should be carried out using the methodology of focus groups and especially with regards to children and young people.

I feel I have learned a considerable amount from carrying out focus group research and I would not change the nature of my research or even the way I conducted the focus groups. They seemed to work very well and I obtained a good amount of data. One of the most enjoyable experiences of carrying out this research was the pleasure of hearing young people debating amongst themselves themes and issues which they had not previously thought about. Without these voices this research would not be possible, they have also heightened my awareness that young people have intelligent ideas and opinions. Once given the opportunity young people can become engaged in lively debates about a range of social, political and cultural issues. In focusing on the

attitudes of young people in Wales, the empirical research enhanced further an understanding of culture, land and history and examined how they informed perceptions of national identity, and how these perceptions influence attitudes towards cultural, political and social changes. To date there has been no empirical research on young people and their perceptions of their national identity within a sixth-form school setting in Wales.

Chapter Six

"Proud to be Welsh."

The Nation and National Identity

This chapter examines young people's perceptions of national identity. The chapter is split into four sections. The first section looks at what the nation and national identity mean to young people, and examines their understanding, more specifically, of what it means to be Welsh. The second explores themes such as social interaction, generational change and locality as they relate to perceptions of national identity. This section explores the extent to which family and friends impact on the development of national identity, and also looks at perceived generational differences between young people and their parents. Thirdly, locality and its impact on the development of national identity are explored. This section also considers other key areas such as dual identity and the role of the 'Other'. Finally, I will look at how young people understand their position in relation to the local, the national, and the global.

Young people, the nation and national identity

Smith (1991) views the nation as a complex construction that includes a number of interconnected dimensions. These consist of myths, a territory, 'mass culture', an economy and legal and political rights for all people. Where Smith emphasises the 'objective' aspects of national identity, Billig (1995) stresses the emotional and 'imagined' dimensions of belonging. As he comments: "as far as national identity is concerned...members not only imagine their nation as a community; but they must

also imagine that they know what a nation is; and they have to identify the identity of their own nation" (1995: 68). As Chapter One illustrated, within the academic literature there are many definitions of the nation. However, when the participants in my study were asked what the 'nation' means to them there was a good degree of similarity of response. The general view was that a nation is made up of people linked by a culture, language and history. It was also seen as involving a sense of commonality and membership.

Seren, a pupil from a school in Caerphilly, defines a nation through commonality, citing history and language as being shared elements of this bond. Seren also identifies with, and feels she 'belongs' to, a nation. For Helen, a nation is made up of people who share things in common, with shared culture being especially important. In the context of Wales, Helen suggests that the Welsh language is one of the distinctive cultural markers of the Welsh nation.

> Seren) A nation to me is lots of people from different backgrounds who are united in some way. What I mean by something in common is...sharing similar things like speaking the same language or having the same history, something that all people will feel they share something in common and they feel they belong to. Belonging to something means to me feeling part of something.
>
> Helen) A nation is like a country and it is made up of lots of people who share similar things that make up that country. Things that make up a nation is definitely having the same culture as other people and being part of that culture is also important. Wales is a nation, we have our own language.

These comments reflect the points made by Smith and Billig. The participants both identify 'objective' features such as a shared culture and speak of a sense of community derived from membership of a nation. Moreover, as Billig suggests the participants show that they are able to identify what the nation is. The participants also noted that, like Anderson's (1991) idea of the imagined community, nations have

limits. Abigail also defines the nation through commonality but adds the factors of governments, traditions and history. However, she alludes to the fact that a nation cannot exist without other nations from which it differentiates itself. As she comments:

> Abigail) People make up the nation to make it a nation and things like the culture, language, traditions, history and governments. It also makes people different. What I mean by this is that every nation is different through the culture and language.

It is noticeable that the three dimensions explored in the first part of the thesis – land, culture, and history – feature prominently in the views of these participants. At the start, answering questions about the nation and national identity seemed to be difficult, but during discussion many and various views were expressed. The participants often referred to the matter addressed in the opening chapter: the 'naturalness' of the nation.

Both Owain and Sally draw upon the idea of a natural attachment to a nation. Owain, for example, describes national identity as something that one is born with and thus is somehow 'given'. Similarly, Sally compares national identity to an instinct, something which everyone has; these are ways in which people are commonly said to make sense of national identity:

> Owain) I think you are born with a national identity. In a way, if you are born in France you are French and if you are born in Germany then you are German. I think it is up to you to identify yourself with that nation and identity but in a way you are kind of born with it. I know this may sound silly, and some people think differently, but I think it is something natural in you and you are born with it. You just can't say to people 'I am not Welsh' anymore than I'm French, but I have never been to France'.

> Sally) Identity is who you are and what you feel. Nobody forces you to have a national identity or belong to a country. It is a natural way in which people feel the need to belong to something or even born with. I think it is like an instinct and all people belong to a country and everyone has a national identity.

> I am Welsh and I will always be Welsh: I was born here and I can't be anything else.

These responses highlight that having a national identity is, to some extent seen to be innate. This was demonstrated in the language participants used to describe these phenomena, phrases such as 'feeling part of ', 'belonging', 'in me' and 'born with'. These phrases were used repeatedly in the groups. The use of these phrases suggests that, despite their initial difficulty in answering the question, for many of the participants the issue of their national identity, and the nation to which they 'belonged' was something about which they had no choice. Though the participants often suggested that national identity is not entirely determined – and therefore natural – they appeared to find it difficult to avoid coming back to the idea that national identity is indeed natural. The comments by Georgia illustrate this dilemma by implying that national identity appears natural but yet she also states that national identity is not absolute, or fixed at birth:

> Georgia) It makes us individual, what I mean by this is that it gives us something to hold on to. Otherwise we would all be French, Spanish or German. If we did not have a national identity there would be nothing to distinguish people. It is not like being female which is something you cannot change. Most people belong to their country and have their own national identity and this they feel is natural.

Young people and Welsh identity

For the participants the issue of what it means to be Welsh generated a diverse range of responses, most of which identified their Welsh national identity as a salient feature of their self-identity. On the whole, being Welsh was seen as a positive identity to have, with words such as 'love', 'roots' and 'proud' frequently used.

As with the concepts of nation and national identity more generally, definitions of Welsh identity at first seemed hard to define but once thought about were equated with notions of national culture, such as history, language, the Welsh costume and symbols of Wales. As the comments below highlight, culture and history are identified strongly as significant aspects of Welsh identity. When asked what it means to be Welsh Tony and Nicola commented:

> Tony) It means having pride in your culture. It's hard to define that you're Welsh, Scottish or English. It is hard to put into words. There is no list to say this makes you Welsh, Irish etc. There are certain cultural things in Wales like the Welsh costume and the national symbols like the daffodil. I suppose history and the culture and for even some the language. Identity is just there and you can't really put a hold on it, but Welsh people just act Welsh.
>
> Nicola) I couldn't imagine not being able to speak Welsh, it's like..., when I go to a foreign country and you hear people talking French or German or something you think that's how other people think of us when we speak Welsh in public. Yeah, its sort of your family, my whole family speaks Welsh... so...it's sort of ...I can be sort of ... feel really proud that I can make a difference to Wales by holding on to the language and culture of Wales.

As both Tony and Nicola's comments highlight, the Welsh language is viewed as one of the principal markers of Welshness; this, for some people, gives them a sense of Welshness. According to Nicola, being able to speak Welsh was making a contribution to her country. Like the broader concept of national identity, Welsh identity was also defined in relation to being born in the national territory. Land, or belonging to it, was seen to confer national identity. However, Neemah, claimed a dual identity, being Bangladeshi and Welsh:

> Neemah) Being Welsh to me...Well, being half Bangladeshi is hard because my culture is Indian but I feel Welsh. All my friends are Welsh. Where I grew up is Welsh. I can't really say what it is but it is how I feel about being Welsh. You are what you are. I suppose I am a bit different because I feel Welsh. It is what I think and I feel.

We can therefore see that the concept of Welsh identity does not differ greatly from the wider categories of national identity. Participants made frequent references to culture, land, and history as well as to the idea of belonging. While some of the specific markers of Welshness are unique – such as the Welsh-language and the ways in which the young people spoke about their Welshness could arguably be repeated, in different languages, in other parts of the world.

One of the methods employed to prompt discussion about national identity used a series of statements about national identity. The statements ranged from Welsh identity being something to be 'proud of', something which is 'in the blood' to a statement referring to national identity as something which is not important. Each person was asked to pick one[xxix] card which best expressed their identity and to explain why.

'Proud to be Welsh' was chosen by many participants. The word 'proud' was a recurrent theme throughout the study. They used the word 'proud' to describe a positive feeling towards being part of Wales. The feeling of being part of Wales was often linked to the Welsh language, culture, and history. Another recurring theme was the idea of national identity being 'in the blood'. This was typically understood as being a metaphor to describe family heritage. Only a small section of the sample claimed they did not feel strongly about being Welsh. For example, one participant remarked that: "character is more important than national identity," while another, commented that she did not 'feel strongly about being Welsh; as Hindi claimed: "I am Muslim first and Pakistani second". This may be the result of having a dual identity

and therefore religion may take precedence over national identity and other factors such as personality or a person's character may be viewed as a significant factor.

According to Hannerz (1996) people will often take symbols of their national identity with them when they travel. Some participants mentioned this behaviour, but did not perceive it as a device to avoid local culture, but rather as a method of promoting their pride in their Welshness. As Lara comments:

> Lara) It's a feeling you get. You've grown up in Wales, you've had the influences and you just want to share with everyone you're Welsh and you don't want to be known as anything else but Welsh...I feel the word proud means to be being happy that I am Welsh and I am not ashamed of who I am. When I go abroad I will take my Welsh T-shirt and my towel. This to me shows how really proud I am to be linked to Wales. Also I think proud to me means doing something for your country like learning the language or being involved in the culture or doing something for your country. I am trying to learn Welsh and I sing in a choir. I think I am part of my country and proud to be part of Wales.

The concept of primordialism sheds some light on the metaphor of 'blood' which was discussed in the previous section. The primordialist approach claims that an ethnic group emerges from features which are taken to be natural, given or unchangeable facts that determine the formation of an ethnic group. According to Geertz (1963), these can be listed as follows: language, religion, blood ties, race and custom. For Geertz, these make up boundaries which cannot be moved. Many scholars have criticized primordialism (see, for example, Eller and Coughlan, 1993). However, in response to the various criticisms, Grosby (1994) claims that ethnic groups and nationalities exist because there are traditions of belief and action towards primordial objects, such as biological features, and especially territorial location. The concept of primordialism, therefore, is useful in analyzing the ways in which participants discussed national identity as given, or 'in the blood'. This chapter is not advocating

a primordial explanation of national identity but often national identity appears to the participants as something which is fixed and which cannot be changed, and primordial phrases were often used by people to describe their identity. In the interviews I wanted to investigate further what 'in the blood' means to the participants.

As the remarks from Mark and Carl below illustrate, when pressed on what the word 'blood' means to them in relation to national identity, it was defined as something which is passed on through family members. For many of the participants it was not possible to consider themselves as being anything else other than Welsh because of parentage. However, this does not mean that national identity was always viewed as something that is fixed. Both Mark and Carl's comments illustrate that one of the most important factors in defining national identity is parentage. As Mark and Carl highlight:

> Mark) I would choose the card being Welsh is 'in my blood'. I can't explain. It is just something that is. What do I mean by blood? Well it is not the blood in my body. It is a metaphorical term. My argument is all my grandparents and parents are Welsh so it is in my blood. What I mean by this is that it is heritage that it is passed down.
>
> Carl) I would definitely say 'being Welsh is in my blood'. What do I mean by this? Genetically it is passed down through my family and I know that I am Welsh through and through. What do I mean by 'through and through'? Well um ..... My gran is Welsh and my mum and dad is Welsh, so how can I be anything else? I know that being Welsh is in my blood. It is through my upbringing, not like being born with it like your gender being male or female.

Some participants, notably those born in Wales (the majority of the participants), talked about their Welshness being 'part of them', others referred to how growing up in Wales contributed to their sense of Welshness. A few participants talked about their experiences of being born in England and growing up there as children, then

moving to Wales. These comments highlight how national identity evolves through living in a locality, village or country.

Other participants did not see the lack of Welsh 'blood' as prohibiting a claim to a Welsh identity. Suaad, for example, was not born in Wales but has grown up there and feels she has adopted the 'Welsh culture', to the point, she adds, that her friends think she is Welsh. As Suaad comments:

> Suaad) I was not born here but I still feel Welsh. I have grown up here and I have adopted the Welsh culture. I listen to Welsh music and I have Welsh friends. It is like me and Mena are different. I think it is the surroundings what I see everyday. My friends in London think I am Welsh.

Laura was also not born in Wales (she was born in Australia), and like Suaad, feels that she has developed a Welsh identity through having lived in Wales for a long time. The environmental influences such as location, friends and family have somehow imbued her with an acquired Welshness. As she remarks:

> Laura) I don't feel strongly about being Welsh but I still feel Welsh. I feel Australian because my dad lives there and my sisters live there and part of my life was in Australia. However, I have lived in Wales for a long time and that has made me who I am today. What do I mean by this? Well, I think my environment and friends and where I live impacts upon my identity. I don't speak Welsh or really get involved with Welsh things.

These two comments from non-Welsh 'natives' provide a contrast to the references to 'blood' or the naturalness of identity. They both illustrate that having the identity 'in ones' blood' is not the only route to that national identity. However, the respondents themselves seem to be aware that this non-native identity is a diluted form of Welshness, somehow less Welsh than those who have Welshness 'in their blood'. The comments illustrate that a dual identity is quite possible and hint at a conflict between identities which, in a sense, strive for dominance.

According to Modood (1994b), young South Asian people in the UK make sense of their ethnic and religious culture within the broader British culture. They wish to celebrate the ethnic, cultural and religious aspects of their self-identity which are distinct from those of the wider society (Modood *et al.* 1994b). In similar vein, Jacobson (1997b) analyzes the interrelationship between religious and ethnic identities among young British Pakistanis and highlights the distinctions made by them between religion and ethnicity. For Jacobson, this distinction is based on a Pakistani ethnicity relating to place and its people, whereas religion is seen to be more pervasive and clear cut than in British society. Jacobson saw the young people in her study as identifying with a multiple identity - being Pakistani, British and being Muslim.

Discussions of the issue of dual, or hybrid identity in the study I carried out generated similarly interesting responses. On the whole, the participants claimed that an individual could claim a dual identity and commented that one of the reasons for having a dual identity was as a result of 'adopting' the culture of a new country. On the other hand, there were some participants who disagreed that people can have a dual identity and believed that where one is born is the sole determinant of national identity. A few young people agreed that one can have a dual identity, but stated that there will always be an identity which is favoured over the other.

Both Carl and Ian have a single national identity and cannot comprehend how people can have a dual identity. They think that people who have claim to more than one identity must choose which one is dominant:

> Carl) On first thoughts I would say its quite an impossible thing to do really...to have two separate, completely different identities... You can still participate in the Pakistan culture but... consider yourself a Welsh citizen. Then I suppose that's possible depending upon which culture you most felt in yourself, you were most connected to.
>
> Ian) I think you can only really, truly be part of one country and sort of ... like I am bi-lingual and it means I can speak two languages but I consider myself as sort of Welsh because I speak Welsh. I think there is always an identity that people will favour over the other one. I was born Welsh so I am Welsh.

On the whole, the participants' comments do not support the work of Jacobson and Modood. Questions about dual identities appeared rather problematic for the participants at times, especially the idea of the acceptance of a dual identity. While religion played a significant part in Jacobson's study, for the participants in this study it was the role of culture more broadly that was the salient feature. Dual identities may not be embraced by all, but for many young people having a dual identity will involve making a choice about which identity is salient.

National identities are deep-rooted in interaction among young people and yet draw upon biological references to the 'heart' and 'blood'. It is evident from the study that national identity is significant to these young people, though to varying degrees. So far this chapter has alluded to how friends, family and issues relating to locality and place affect perceptions of national identity. Moreover, dual identities are another feature of national identity in which people negotiate and understand the ways in which people can have more than one identity. Another important feature within the study was the role of interaction among friends and family and how this affects national identity.

Interaction, generational change and locality

Scholars such as Barth (1969), Goffman (1969), Jenkins (1997) and Housley and Fitzgerald (2001) all highlight the role of interaction in the formation of self-identity. However, the influence of interaction on national identity had not been a well researched area until fairly recently (see Bechhofer *et al.* 1999; Hester and Housley, 2002). Nevertheless, Housley and Fitzgerald (2001) claim that national identity is "produced, recognised and used within the realms of everyday interaction" (2001: 1). I asked the participants to what extent their friends and family influenced their national identity. Reflecting a common view within the study, Kate, Ian and Beth all believe that identity comes from a variety of factors, including friends, family and their environment. Kate in particular believes that identity comes through the influence of other people. She supports her claim by referring to growing up in a Welsh-speaking environment. Ian agrees with Kate that national identity includes a variety of influences such as 'culture' and the home. Beth similarly believes that identity comes from the home and environment, but also states that identity is a matter of personal choice:

> Kate) I reckon it comes from other people that influence you 'cos I've got friends that speak Welsh fluent and they've influenced me to believe that I'm strongly Welsh and stuff, so I reckon it comes from influences in life. At 16 you get introduced to different people more and you get to know, you know, people from other cultures, other countries. You meet different people. I mean you...realise it more.
>
> Ian) I agree with Kate. I don't think it comes from the inside literally sort of. I think it's all the influences around us when we grow up and sort of everything we see while we're growing up in Wales. Yeah, your identity comes from you, and I suppose where you live and the things around you.
>
> Beth) It is a natural way in which people feel the need to belong to something. I think your identity may come from your home environment, your friends and family but in the end you know who you are.

The above comments are in direct contrast to earlier comments made by the participants that national identity is innate. In these extracts, the participants believe that national identity is shaped through external influences.

From the study it would appear that, on closer inspection, national identity is not a natural phenomenon, even though in some circumstances it is described as such, but emerges through a process of interaction with members of an individual's community and family as well as with friends. For many of the participants, feeling they belong to the community in which they had grown up and social interactions among people formed the basis of their Welshness. Therefore, it would seem that interactions with others underpins their sense of national identity. Here there are two potentially useful issues to explore. The first is the perceived influence of family on the development of national identity. The second is the extent to which generational differences influence the development of young people's national identity.

I have already touched on the influence of family and national identity. Here I want to look at this, and related issues on national identity further. Specifically, I want to consider how the development of national identities is shaped by parental influences and the extent to which the participants perceive differences between their parents' identity and their identity. I will also touch on the matter of generational change and national identity as understood by the participants.

Within this study there were a mix of families from different backgrounds and places. Lee has a intricate mix of nationality in his family. Lee believes he has a stronger identity than his parents' due to the influence of modern popular culture. Leon also

feels he has a stronger identity than his father because his father was not born in Wales but has 'adopted' Welsh as his national identity. What can be seen in these comments is how parents are often perceived to have little influence upon the development of their children's national identity. As Lee and Leon highlight:

> Lee) My dad is Welsh and was born in the Valleys. He supports Wales. He campaigns for Wales in terms of politics. My mum is Welsh but does not really consider herself as Welsh but she lived in Italy for seven years. My step-dad is Welsh and my real dad is Indian. We are a younger generation who has grown up with these Welsh bands and Welsh culture and then you think 'I am part of that'. I definitely feel differently from my parents, I am Welsh.
>
> Leon) My mum ...I think it was the way she was brought up in a small sort of village which was so Welsh: You know, no one spoke English and she has always spoken Welsh. So I get that from mum and dad. He has got a family history where they were all born in India but lived in England and then we came over to Cardiff. He calls himself Welsh and he won't take someone saying he's English and things like that. I think he sees himself more as Welsh really. I think I am stronger because I have been to a Welsh school and I have always been like it.

Generational differences were also evident in cases where the participants were not born in Wales. Neemah comments:

> Neemah) My parents are Bangladeshi and they are strict about their Bangladeshi identity where I am more pushed to Wales. Yes I would say I am Welsh. I guess then I am Welsh although I was born in Bangladesh. You don't have to be born in a country to have that identity, I don't think you have to.

One of the key matters that these comments highlight is that national identity is not something which is fixed down the generations but is rather subject to change. These changes can be seen in the references to the influence of culture rather than family. Also, that the participants note the capacity for national identity to evolve over time shows an awareness that national identity is not 'natural'. These influences also show how national identity is multiplex and includes a wide variety of factors and influences. A number of participants also talked about how national identity changes

over time as a consequence of cultural influences and many of these references were linked to Wales. I would like to note at this stage that when talking about their Welshness numerous cultural or social institutions were cited as being of great significance to the development of national identity. Through their responses to questions about the influence of family, culture and the 'Other', the participants reveal the sociological context of national identity.

According to Adams (1998, in Davies, H. W., 1998), in Wales there has been a changing cultural environment that has resulted in the growth of pop artists like *the Manic Street Preachers*, *Catatonia*, *Gorky's Zygotic Mynci*, *Super Furry Animals* and *The Stereophonics*. These artists have played their part in sustaining the idea of 'Cool Cymru' in which people can relate to their Welsh identity through music. More recently, according to Adams (1998), Wales has witnessed a cultural change and a new found confidence engendered by the forming of the National Assembly and a growing sense of Welsh identity has been shaped. Jessica also defines her Welshness through popular culture. As she comments:

> Jessica) I suppose my family is really important to me. We have all been born in Wales and really we know nothing else. I think I have a stronger identity than my parents do because I see myself as more Welsh. I play in a band in school. I suppose this has influenced me from Welsh bands such as the *Manics* and *Stereophonics*.... I always go to watch the rugby and support our team. I do more things Welsh than my parents.
>
> Claire) My dad is really Welsh and will not tolerate anyone who says anything bad about Wales. I am different from my dad because I am involved in lots of Welsh things. I love all the Welsh bands but my dad hates Tom Jones. I think today there are much more things that are really Welsh and that is good...I have grown up with all the Welsh bands and the music so I have a different sense of being Welsh than my dad.

The comments above, especially Claire's, highlight the role of the family as an influence on the development of national identity. However, in the groups the

participants also spoke of the influence of popular culture in Wales and how this impacts upon national identity. These comments suggest that national identity evolves over time and that the role of a changing popular culture is important among young people.

Not all the sources of influence cited were social institutions. There were also widespread references to country/place of birth shaping, or determining national identity and the participants also spoke of the "place of locality" in the development of national identity. Localities are important for numerous reasons. Firstly, the local acts as a key site in which people make sense of their relationship with the nation and national identity. Cohen (1982), for example, cites the importance of the local and highlights that within various localities people will always draw upon notions of difference from others who may not belong to that locality. Only by exploring localities can we begin to understand how the nation and national identity vary from place to place (Agnew, 1996). Local experiences can also help reproduce the nation and national identity (Desforges and Jones, 2003). Some empirical research on localities has been carried out in a Welsh context in Bangor, north Wales. Thompson and Day (1999) focused on individual's perceptions of Welshness that take place on a local level and how these experiences enabled them to shape their own interpretation of national identity. The study found that while national identity was viewed as a common and taken-for-granted facet of self-identity there were always difficulties in demarcating who did and not did belong to a national group. They used the example of Welsh people defining 'the Welsh' through various categories. For example, to define 'the Welsh' as those who speak the Welsh language excludes the majority of people that do not but who would clearly still consider themselves as belonging to the

nation. Any other system of categorization such as being born in the country or being resident in the country would be equally exclusive. What Thompson and Day found was that individuals tend to categorize using a criterion which places themselves within their definition of the nation. These criteria often drew upon locality, being born or living in the locality. For Thompson and Day, people will always draw upon their localized knowledge of national identity to make sense of who they are and to categorize others. These studies show an association between various localities in Wales and the reproduction of the nation and national identity.

For many of the participants their locality is important for their identity; an attachment to their locality provides a feeling of belonging:

> Lisa) I live in Merthyr and that is my home. I have not lived anywhere else in my life. Although I live in Wales and I'm Welsh, being a Merthyr girl is also part of my identity.... growing up in a small town makes me different from someone living in a city like Cardiff and who are not as Welsh as us.
>
> Karen) I would agree with Lisa because I live in Merthyr and living there has probably made my identity stronger in a way... maybe because it is not that big and where I live we all know each other and it is like a community.

Each of these comments demonstrates the importance of locality for national identity. Attachment to the place, and the community in which they grew up is important but the locality is only part of their identity; being Welsh still remains at the forefront of their minds. However, some Welsh-speaking participants argued that it was being part of a Welsh-speaking community that made them feel Welsh. When asked to explain if their locality was important to their national identity they replied:

> James) I live in a very small community and some of the people in my locality speak Welsh, so in a way this has given me a stronger sense of being Welsh. All my family speak Welsh to each other and I speak Welsh all the time in school.... maybe it is because you live locally and we are all part of that community.

> Ieasha) Being part of the Welsh community does have an impact upon my Welshness. I live in a city and that does not stop me from speaking my own language. I live in Llandaf and the place where you live is important but not as important as the country.

James' comments highlight the role of the Welsh language and his locality as being important to his identity and while Ieasha agrees being part of a Welsh community may impact upon identity, locality for her is not as important as the country in which you live. Ieasha is suggesting that the nation is the definitive marker of national identity. While the Welsh-language may make them aware of their Welshness they continue to imagine themselves as part of the larger 'picture', Wales. This is similar to Anderson's 'imagined community'. Overall, the comments on the issue of locality place the 'local' in the shaping of national identity as an important area to consider.

On many occasions within the interviews notions of difference and the 'Other' were mentioned by the participants. Scholarly work on national identity contains a great deal of discussion about the extent to which self-identity involves 'notions of difference' and 'denigration'. Jenkins suggests that emphasising difference from others as well as similarities are key aspects of peoples "self-identity Other" (1996: 4-5). McCrone comments that "we know nationalism grows best in a medium in which there is an Other – an enemy against which we can measure and develop our identity" (1998: 184). The study of national identity and issues of difference and the 'Other' among children and young people, as I discussed in Chapter One, has been researched more widely in the disciplines of education (Carrington and Short, 1995) psychology (Jahoda, 1962, 1963; Barrett, 2002) and social psychology (Condor, 1996, 2002). As I highlighted in the earlier chapter these studies tell us little about why people fear the 'Other' or the reasons behind these differences.

There has been some empirical research carried out by Hengst (1997) on Western European children and their conceptions of 'us' and 'them'. The research focuses on collective identity and how children construct difference. The study focused on German children and children of migrants who live in Germany, Turkish children living in Turkey and English children living in England. It involved thirteen sets of questions to ask the children, including investigating their own sense of who they are; knowledge and opinions about other countries and people; media and leisure activities and knowledge about their nation. The study found that the children who lived in Germany talked about their identity and their hobbies and personal characteristics, while the foreign children living in Germany highlighted their nationality. Hengst (1997) attributes these differences to the ways in which the children spoke about themselves and stated that the foreign children in their experience of marginality emphasise their identity more so than the children from Germany. What the study also shows is that there are a variety of negotiations children make in constructing categories of 'us' and 'them' and that when researching these differences one should include issues such as migration, tourism and new media systems. For Hengst, there are increasing numbers of children growing up among other children from other societies and these children have constructed new forms of 'us' and 'them' that are not based on the constructions of previous generations. This study shows that while there may be differences among children, as societies change, so do these conceptions of difference. More research is needed to explore why people fear or construct the 'Other' and what these conceptions of difference are based upon. In my study, there were, perhaps inevitably, repeated references to 'the English', a category held up in contrast to 'the Welsh'.

In the comments below, Paul and Sian talk about Wales being different from England as a consequence of the Welsh language, a Welsh culture and land. Some of the participants discuss the way that 'the English stopped Welsh being spoken'. Many of them emphasize their Welshness by commenting that they are not English and also highlight the differences between Wales and England, the fundamental difference being the Welsh language.

> Paul) I am Welsh not English. That's how I say who I am. I hate the English see, because they think they rule us you know. If I go on holiday with me mam and dad people always say 'Where you are from'? and I say 'Wales' and they say 'Oh you're English' and that really winds me up because I am not English and I never want to be like them. Wales is different. It is not like them in England. We have our own things like the language and the valleys and sheep and big mountains and lovely people.
>
> Sian) One thing that really gets to me is the English. When I go on holiday and people ask me where I am from I will always say Wales and people have never heard of Wales and they say I am English. I tell you what, I am not English I say they are different from us. The English have done so much to take away our language and who we are. I blame them for a lot of things in Wales. I would put the English in room 101.

These comments illustrate Jenkins' (1996) point that it seems an almost 'natural' human quality to define group boundaries. People create barriers or boundaries to distinguish themselves from others whom they see as being different. Furthermore, notions of difference are also linked to various localities. In this study, the significance of living in Cardiff and the south Wales valleys was explored.

As was noted in Chapter Five, the group interviews were carried out in Cardiff and in various schools in the south Wales valleys. Participants were asked how they viewed both areas, a question that picked up on personal knowledge of strong local identities in both localities. The study found there were differences linked to both localities, for

example, nearly all the young people agreed that there are various points of difference between Cardiff and the Valleys. For many participants who live in Cardiff the city was viewed as a place to be proud of, a view that contrasted starkly to some of their negative references to the Valleys, especially to the accent of the Valleys' populations, the close-knit community and the way of life. Such comments were made mostly by participants living in Cardiff. The Valleys communities were described as more 'close-knit' and 'more Welsh'. Cardiff was seen as larger, more cosmopolitan and subject to greater demographic mobility. The Valleys were described as maintaining a sense of 'community spirit' through its small villages. This 'community spirit' was also accounted for by reference to 'village gossip' and people communicating with one another on a more friendly basis. Kieran makes this point, remarking that in the Valleys many people have lived there all their life and geographic mobility was for the most part limited. Social life in Cardiff was, for the young people from the Valleys, more 'atomised'. As the comments by Kieran and Beth below highlight, the more 'static' aspect of life in the Valleys, which is linked to a less 'multicultural' population and to a different type of community and character, is equated with a stronger Welsh identity.

> Kieran) At the end of the day the people who live in the Valleys have been living there for years and years, but you go into Cardiff and you got students...and there's not that type of community spirit, should you say, in the city centre or in Cardiff. But when you go into the hills you've still got Dilys and Doris next door having a chat on the doorstep. It pulls together more once you go deeper into the Valleys

> Beth) Cardiff is a lot more multi-cultural. I live in the Valleys and it is so different from Cardiff in lots of ways. The people are nicer in the Valleys. Cardiff people are ignorant. The accents are different too in the Valleys. We all speak the same but in Cardiff we always get stick for being a Valleys person. Cardiff is a big place and there are so many people. When you're in the Valleys you do have a older community talking all the time, like the village gossip.

In this context, life in the Valleys was seen as almost timeless and as representing a Wales that is diminishing in Cardiff. This idea was evident in the ways some participants referred to Cardiff as being no different from any other European city, due to the different cultures and people within the city. Thus, as Laura comments:

> Lara) I suppose there is a difference like y'know in Cardiff, especially with the rugby or whatever, it is the capital. When you go to the smaller, little villages you can have the community spirit or whatever y'know, with the neighbourhood and stuff like that and people on their doorsteps. Coming from Cardiff myself we always say about the Valleys' people that they are different from us in a way. In Cardiff you could blindfold a person in Cardiff and you would not know you were in Wales. I suppose there are so many different people from different backgrounds that you can be anywhere.

However, not all participants believed Cardiff was similar to other European cities; some referred to Cardiff as being Welsh.

Perceptions of what constitutes Welshness are different from one locality to another. While Welshness was seen to be pronounced in the Valleys, Cardiff was also seen as Welsh though there remained important differences. Cardiff was seen as more multi-ethnic, while the Valleys were seen as more 'close-knit'. Thus, for both sets of participants, going to either place and interacting with others reinforces locality and difference. Locality is an important factor in the development of national identity, not least because it reinforces notions of difference and community. As I noted in my discussion of the data, locality is a tremendous influence over the participants' national identity. Though often they referred to differences between nations, it was very much evident in the interviews that perceptions of difference between groups living within a region – such as Cardiff and the Valleys – greatly informs the process through which national identity develops.

Globalization and national identity

According to some writers, globalization challenges the process of national identity development because the nation-state loses its symbolic significance as a focus of identity. As Giddens claims, "in circumstances of accelerating globalization, the nation-state has become 'too small for the big problems of life, and too big for the small problems of life" (1991: 65). Here it would seem that national, regional and local cultures are beginning to be affected by globalization. In turn, this impacts on the processes of individual identity formation. The issue of how globalization affects national identity in practice is nevertheless difficult to determine. Much of the work in this area is theoretical, with comparatively little empirical data. For this reason, I was concerned to examine the effects of globalization, and how, or whether, national identities are sustained in a globalizing world. In the context of discussions of globalization, it is necessary to ask whether transnational cultural influences may weaken, alter or erode national identity.

Some of the comments made by the participants reflect the typical accounts in the theory. Writers such as Bauman (1992) and Giddens (1991) discuss how national identities are becoming increasingly fragmented as a result of globalization and how this creates a threat to the notion of a single 'national culture'. The comments below present an account of how young people position themselves within a global world and perhaps reflect the common view that globalization is weakening national identity, and will continue to do so further. While these comments do not reflect the views of the majority of the participants, they nevertheless illustrate how globalization is, for some, influencing self-identity.

Leo talks about a globalizing world, which he believes will impact upon Wales in the future. Throughout his discussions of globalization, he frequently talks about how cultures are becoming progressively similar through the influences of the Internet, travel and food, and believes this is due to global influences.

> Leo) I think Welsh identity will eventually die due to global influences. We are all becoming similar. What ways? I suppose using the Net, travelling and various cultures are similar. I suppose languages are different. We kind of eat the same food like Chinese, Indian etc. Walking through Cardiff you hear a variety of accents and if you hear a Welsh accent you think that's odd. Cardiff is more multicultural. Also the shops are chain shops like Gap, Starbucks, Burger King. You could be anywhere. There is nothing in Cardiff. Apart from the Dragon you could be anywhere.

One of the most interesting comments on the effects of globalization came from Francis, who believes that the Welsh language will eventually decline due to European integration. In his opinion, the influence of a weak economy of Wales and the joining of Europe threatens the Welsh language and Wales' identity. As Francis explains:

> Francis) We are a dying race. I mean that the Welsh language will eventually die out and we will have moved closer to being European. Our businesses are overseas and therefore we have no money. I think there are certain amounts of people who are proud to be Welsh but these are of a minority.

In talking about globalization, the above comments paint a bleak future for Wales. However, they represent only one type of response to the issue of how globalization is impacting on Wales. Other participants were less pessimistic about the future of Welshness and equally clear that globalization did not mean the end of national identity. From these comments it is evident that young people are clearly aware of the effects of globalization and how these impact upon cultures and national identity. Some writers (Lemish *et al.*, 1998; Livingstone 1998, 2002) are also beginning to research the impact of globalization and national identity. According to Livingstone

(1998), there has been little cross-cultural work carried out on children and young peoples' use of media technology (see Livingstone[xxx] and Bovill, 1999 report on Young People, New Media). Livingstone's work (2002) centres on the increasing conditions of technological and diversified forms of media that young people can now access and the impacts these will have on children and young people. Her research highlights the importance of young people's changing media environment. In my study one could clearly see the access young people have to various media sources, among these being the Internet and how communication has been transformed through the use of email. Many participants, for example, talk about emailing friends worldwide.

Lemish *et al.* (1998) explored how among young people and children in Denmark, Israel and France, globalization has impacted on their lives. According to Lemish *et al.* children and young people are embracing globalization within their social life, and thus globalization and localization are not necessarily in opposition but rather they often 'co-exist' (1998: 554). The significance of the local and the global was clearly highlighted in the realm of pop music. Young people in both Denmark and Israel preferred to listen to British and American music and in all countries rap music was popular despite there being no evidence of a 'black culture'. They also nevertheless listen to their own national and ethnic music. For example, French children listen to French rap music. For Lemish *et al.* children and young people can now access music on both a local and national level as well as define themselves as Danish. They may also watch an American soap opera *Beverley Hills 90210* and use the Internet to access information but this does not undermine their sense of local or national

identity. According to Lemish *et al.* children and young people embrace them both 'naturally' within their social world.

At present these studies remain the exception and a great deal more needs to be done to unpack the inter-relationship between the local, national and the transnational. However, what they illustrate is how young people engage within the local, national and global, rather than viewing them as separate elements. The research I carried out echoes Lemish *et al.* focus on young people's negotiation of the global, local and national. Most young people are compelled to live with and negotiate a variety of local, national and global influences. Kerry makes sense of living in a global world by referring to the fact he uses chat rooms[xxxi] and email to contact his friends worldwide. Kerry is aware of the significance of his transnational communications with friends but does not lose sight of his local identity in Caerphilly and his 'national' identity being Welsh.

> Kerry) I would still like to say in fifty years time that I am Welsh. As we have been saying, we live in a world that is global if that's what you call it. And maybe I am 'global' because I live on the chat rooms and I even have friends in the US and Europe and we email each other all the time. I am even going to the US in the summer with my parents and meeting my friends. Although I use these I still have friends in Caerphilly and I am still Welsh.

A significant number of young people stated that despite global influences people retain a strong sense of national identity. For example, according to Frances: "lots of people have different identities and despite watching these films or listening to various music this does not take away people's sense of national identity. I am half British and Australian. By listening to and watching Australian films and music does not make me more Australian. National identity is about feelings rather than the

cultural aspects". Some participants remarked that national identity cannot change due to global influences.

Young people may listen to world music, eat McDonalds and wear Nike trainers but their sense of national identity does not necessarily change. Their sense of who they are and their perceptions of their world may be different to their parents, but their outlook is still recognisably national. They do not simply have a 'global identity' because they are locked into global networks. The study shows that young people are aware of the various global networks, the Internet, including those enabled by travelling, and the mass media. However they feel that national identity also involves a variety of influences from the fields of culture, politics, history and even Hollywood films, and that one cannot simply 'invent' national identity or global identity. National identity is formed, shaped and sustained through one's environment and where an individual grows up: Laura highlights this point, stating that people may be aware of globalization, but this does not affect their national identity. As she suggests:

> Laura) I have travelled a lot, been to lots of countries in Europe and take in a lot of information through travel and visiting a variety of cultures. One may chose to become Canadian if and when one has lived in Canada for a while. However, one cannot just invent another national identity because one watches Hollywood films; national identity does not work like that. I think it is where you have been brought up and raised. We cannot get away from globalization I think but for many people in this world this does not mean anything to their national identity.

Young people, today while arguably participating in more extensive global cultural flows than any other generation, and welcoming new globalizing options such as those made available to them, mobile phones or the Internet, still hold on to their national identity.

Conclusion

Every single participant in the study felt they had a national identity, though there were varying degrees to which they felt their nationality was a defining factor of their self-identity. As I have argued throughout this thesis national identity is an 'artificial construct'. However, for many participants it was impossible to perceive their national identity in this way. Many of the participants had difficulty in understanding national identity as being a construction. Although after discussion they could intellectualise national identity as being conceptual only. Many held on to the idea that, although intangible, the nation is still in some sense 'real'. In this study the two most common phrases used when talking about Welsh identity were 'proud to be Welsh' and 'being Welsh is in my blood'. The participants would often use the word 'pride' in the literal sense to mean taking pleasure in association with Wales. They also spoke about 'pride' in terms of contributing to their culture of their country. In this context, participants would often refer to learning the Welsh language, participating in sport or singing in a band or choir. It seems significant that they mentioned these activities and this implies that they made these contributions because of their national feeling: they wanted to have a positive impact on their society. 'In the blood' was the single most used phrase to describe Welsh identity, while this phrase appears to have very powerful connotations and it was certainly meaningful to the participants. When asked to expand, the phrases seemed to have no more meaning than as a metaphor for family heritage. Discussion of family heritage led on to issues of locality and dual identity. Opinion was divided amongst those who had a 'single' identity as to whether one could claim a dual identity. Those who thought dual identity was possible believe that one identity would take priority over the other. There were relatively few participants who claimed dual identity but among many

participants the key aspect of dual identities was 'adopting' the particular culture. Here culture plays a significant role in the formation of dual identities.

Interaction, generational change and locality were all discussed by the participants and each of these factors to one degree or another has an impact on national identity, indicating that there is no single definitive influence which determines national identity but many. This highlights the multiplex nature of national identity. Issues of locality also included references to the 'Other'. The fact that people define their identity through the 'Other' or difference is well established within academic literature. In my study the 'Other' has invariably been the English. There were no other nationalities that were mentioned as fulfilling this function. There are no significant conclusions to be drawn from this other than the well-known proposition that Wales tends to define itself 'not as England'.

Globalization is a concept that was well understood by the participants and they often echoed the ideas used by writers such as Bauman, (1992) and Giddens, (1991) when they talk about the fragmentation of nation-states and the erosion of national identities. Only a handful of participants talked about the erosion of Welsh identity due to globalization and these did not see Welsh identity being subsumed into a global identity but rather saw Wales as being integrated into Europe. The majority of the participants claimed that despite globalization national identity will continue to be sustained in the future. This demonstrated the powerful nature of national identity and how it has come to be viewed as a significant entity in people's social world. A surprising number of the participants operated through global networks, email links, cinema and the Internet. Many were engaged on a national scale through other forms

of media such as television and print media. All were engaged on a local level by their personal relationships and everyday lives. Therefore, young people can participate within local, national and global frameworks.

Chapter Seven

"Culture is everywhere."

Culture and National Identity

This chapter explores the second theme of the thesis – the relationship between culture and national identity. The purpose of the chapter is to examine what culture and national identity mean to young people and to look at how culture is understood to be shaped, reproduced and sustained. Firstly, I ask what culture means to young people before moving on to examine the significance of culture for national identity. Secondly, I explore the ways in which culture is involved in the development of national identity and I especially turn to Welsh culture and Welsh identity. Of particular interest here is the importance of Welsh popular culture, and more specifically the idea of 'Cool Cymru' and its relevance for how the participants conceptualise national identity. The role of the 'Other' and difference will also be discussed. Finally, the chapter examines the role of culture and identity within a globalizing world, looking at whether national identities will continue to be sustained despite globalization.

What is culture?

This thesis has already demonstrated that much of the academic literature on the relationship between culture and national identity has tended to focus on 'high' culture and has often missed out studying the relevance of popular culture for national identity. Parts of the literature suggest that cultures are, to a large extent, fixed and unchanging. Chapter Two argued that this is not the case; 'cultures' continually evolve and thus can be seen as dynamic and fluid. Writers such as Gellner (1983),

Anderson (1991), and Smith (1991) tend to make an assumption that the 'high' culture of a nation will be the culture which is instrumental in defining the national identity. Popular culture does not figure strongly in any of the work and I would argue that this is an important omission as popular culture is arguably the dominant cultural form in contemporary society. This section shows what popular culture means to young people, how it is shaped and, most importantly, how it links to national identity.

Fiske (1989) defines culture as "the constant process of producing meaning of and from our social experience" (in McQuail, 1994: 94). Hall (1992) believes there is no one single culture but rather multiple cultures in which people engage, as part of the process of interpreting the social world. There are many debates and discussions over the meanings of culture but there is little research asking 'ordinary' people what they mean by culture. I was interested in what 'culture' means to young people and what kinds of phenomena they associate with it. Each group session on culture began with these questions.

The general response was that culture reflects a wide range of phenomena, from 'high' to 'popular' culture. 'High' culture was taken to mean things like the theatre or the opera, while the more 'popular' forms included shopping and music. The participants seemed more engaged with the popular forms of culture such as music, films, shopping and fast food culture. Several participants commented on 'high' culture and described it as a 'superior culture' dominated by an older generation. Many participants held a similar view to Hall (1992), talking about cultures rather than culture. Several young people spoke explicitly about tapping into a variety of

cultures, speaking about American and Welsh cultures, and moving freely between global, national and local positions. According to Appadurai (1990), people may belong to, and position themselves within, their nation but also have other social relations which link them to other places or cultures. For Appadurai, life cannot be solely national; people can have multiple attachments and simultaneously belong to a variety of cultures.

Ryan talks about culture meaning 'high' culture, linked with art, the theatre and a certain type of literature. Ryan participates in a 'high' culture with his parents. There were only a few participants who spoke of participating in 'high' culture, and in these instances they did so invariably with their parents. It would appear that participation in 'high' culture, then, marks a site of generational difference. That is, young people may be involved in the more 'popular' forms of culture such as films and television and their parents may enjoy 'high' culture such as the theatre. Charlotte is aware of the different kinds of culture but especially enjoys the cinema and music. Mark suggests that there may be generational differences between cultural consumption and states that adults participate in 'high' forms of cultural practice while the more popular forms are enjoyed by younger people. As Ryan, Charlotte and Mark describe:

> Ryan) When I think of culture I think of the theatre and opera and those kind of cultural things. I often go to the theatre with my mum and dad. There are other cultural things like books, music and eating.
>
> Charlotte) When I think of culture I think of things such as the theatre, reading books, opera and doing all posh things. But today culture is around us everyday and we can't escape from it.... I enjoy things such as going to the cinema and listening to music especially at the moment Justin Timberlake.
>
> Mark) Culture can mean a lot of things. I can think of cultural things that I like doing these are - films, music, eating and clubbing. There are also other things

like going to museums and art galleries and going to theatre. I think mostly older people does those sort of things.

Many participants talked about cultures becoming globalized. As Leon states: "we can access lots of different cultural things today due to our global world. I am half Indian and I can email my family in Bengal, eat Bengali food and listen to Bengali music and I don't have to leave my house". The process of globalization has made it possible to contemplate a hybrid global culture and this has encouraged writers to reflect on the processes of Americanization, Japanization and Westernization (see Featherstone, 1990) and the idea that cultures are becoming more uniform. This imposing uniformity can be seen in the theory of the 'McDonaldization' of society (Ritzer, 1996). In the study there were a number of comments made by participants about the Americanization of culture and also that people can participate in a variety of cultures (the idea of globalization will be discussed in more detail in the last section of the chapter). Adam presents two views when considering culture. He discusses the Americanization of Welsh society and feels that Welsh culture is being subsumed by American culture. However, he states that Wales has increased its international profile through recent popular culture. As Adam comments:

> Adam) Culture is everywhere. It is in our lives all the time. I think of culture being massive like all the big cinemas and all the fast food we can eat. Today in Cardiff we can even go American bowling. I think we are kinda of an American culture now because so much of our lives are Americanised.... We have a lot to thank for in Wales, especially with all the famous people and famous music. We have got a culture now to be proud of and I can think of bands like the *Manics* who are local boys and have put Wales and its music on a national and international level.

Barker (1999) considers the role of television in constructing national identity and suggests that "television addresses the viewer as a part of the nation and situates him/her in the rhythms of national culture"(1999: 6). For Barker, television does not

construct identities in a direct sense but rather involves an 'interplay of mediations' between identity and culture. The participants acknowledged the influence of television and film over national identity, but also, as was clear from the larger discussion, noted that this was not the only influence over their perceptions of Wales and the wider world.

Ben, a participant from a school in Cardiff, talks about popular culture as expressed through television and music. For Ben, "culture is everywhere", referring to the growing influence of the mass media. Caroline, another participant from the same school, agrees that 'mass culture' infiltrates people's lives. She acknowledges differences between national cultures and suggests that not all cultures are homogenous or even globalized. As Ben and Caroline state:

> Ben) Culture to me means popular things, popular culture like music, television and things like that. It does not necessarily mean Welsh things. Culture is everywhere today. It is in the food we eat and the clothes we wear. Also as I have said before, cultures are becoming similar and we can enjoy other people's culture. If you think many years ago you would not be eating Thai food in Wales or even Japanese food. Today we celebrate others' cultures but we also have become like other cultures.
>
> Caroline) I agree with Ben. We can enjoy lots of different cultures today. But I don't think like Ben that all cultures are becoming similar. I lived in Portugal for a while. The Portuguese culture is a little different from ours and this can be seen in the food, the language and even their way of life –they are not so advanced as us in Britain. Also, the TV was weird especially when I saw some films like *Home Alone* and *Eastenders* in Portuguese. Here culture can also promote people's identity.

Interestingly, while the participants talk about the more 'popular' forms of culture they are clearly aware of how people can access a variety of cultures within their daily lives. They may talk about the domination of an American mass culture but clearly participate more in what might be seen as local and national forms of culture.

Culture and national identity

I asked the participants to consider some ways in which culture promotes or shapes a sense of national identity. I showed them a newspaper article from the Western Mail which identified one hundred things to celebrate Wales and Welshness. I asked the participants in their groups to pick ten things which they consider celebrates their Welshness. Among the participants the most popular items chosen were Tom Jones (the singer), Welsh Water (the utility company), castles, 'the people of Wales[xxxii]' and rugby. This exercise promoted a wider discussion about culture. Many participants expressed the view that culture is important for national identity and suggest that music, television and film foster a sense of national identity. Owain, a participant from a school in Pontypridd, claims that films are influential in this respect. He uses the example of the film *Trainspotting* and comments that this film promotes a Scottish identity. According to Owain, various cultural institutions such as music and film help display national identity, something he believes is a positive thing. Lee discusses his own Welsh culture and identifies rugby as a common cultural element that supports a wider collective identity. Lee also discusses the ways in which national culture draws upon local points of reference, which he sees in both Welsh and non-Welsh television soap operas. As Owain and Lee state:

> Owain) I think more and more people are trying to promote films in their country. You take *Trainspotting*. It is about promoting Scotland but using drugs. More and more films and music want to create their own identity. Culture can be a promotion of that country and all the cultural things linked to it.
>
> Lee) There are lots of things in our culture that promotes a sense of national identity. One of the biggest is a sporting event like rugby. But there are other things like soap operas that have their own identity like *Corrie* is in Manchester and *Eastenders* is in the Eastend of London and *Pobol y Cwm* is in

> Wales. Everywhere has its own cultural elements which people buy into and when you visit that country you will always do that cultural thing that is supposed to be done in that country.

When thinking about Welsh culture a number of participants imply that a 'new' culture has emerged that has raised the profile of Welsh culture and identity. This partly stems from a number of recently popular celebrities who have drawn on their Welshness as part of their celebrity personas. Hannah mentions a shift in culture, from an emphasis on the more traditional forms to a dominance of popular culture. She acknowledges that this culture has targeted young people but claims that cultures continue to change and what may seem popular now among young people may change over time. As she describes:

> Hannah) I think the traditional Welsh culture - the Eisteddfodd is not as popular anymore. For myself, young people identify and create their own culture today. Wales has its own culture like the Welsh bands, Welsh actors, Welsh writers and Welsh poets. Lots of young people are more Welsh through all these things and the culture changes all the time. I am now into the Super Furry's but in a couple of years there will be something else.

Cultural elements such as music, television and film thus can 'shape' national identity Young people certainly identify with different forms of culture and position themselves locally and nationally when thinking about culture. The participants' comments indicate the influence of popular culture over Welshness; below I take this analysis of the relationship between culture and national identity further.

Wales, culture and national identity

Chapter Six discussed the idea that Wales has been witnessing a cultural change and a growing sense of Welsh identity. The National Assembly for Wales produced 'Plans for Wales 2001'[xxxiii], among the aims of which was to promote a cultural life in Wales that will 'reach an international audience'. At present these plans remain largely

aspirational. In order to explore further the idea of a Welsh culture I asked the participants to think about the ways in which the elements of their culture (such as television, music and traditions) promote national identity. A significant number of participants talked about music, films, and soap operas reinforcing national identity; they also spoke about how cultures interact on a local, national and even global level. Here I decided to focus on the idea of 'Cool Cymru' and how it links to Welsh culture and identity. I asked the participants whether they had heard of 'Cool Cymru' and to what extent it raised the profile of national identity in Wales.

Kerry, a participant from a school in Merthyr, claimed that the film *Twin Town* heightened a sense of Welsh identity. She does, however, comment that this film may only be culturally significant in Wales because it centres on aspects seen to be typical of Wales and Welshness. Here 'culture' can reinforce notions of identity which may exclude others who do not live in that country by being context-specific. Thus, there may be some elements such as an accent or dialect or a word that become used in that culture or country and is only culturally significant to that place. Participants noted that certain films and television programmes seemed to speak directly to them as people from Wales, bringing to mind Anderson's concept of the imagined community created through the media.

> Kerry) I would say some films promote a Welsh identity. Well, *Twin Town* certainly does. It is set in Swansea and all the characters are Welsh. I don't know what other people from outside Wales would think of this film and would other people get the Welsh jokes and the things that are typically Welsh.

A number of participants talked about the increase in Welsh soap operas being accessible to both non-Welsh speakers and Welsh speakers, they also mentioned a Welsh-language soap opera that targeted young people. For several participants this

soap opera became popular because it discussed issues young people faced in Wales and it was the first programme to address young people. Tim, a participant from a school in Merthyr, comments on this soap opera and claims that this and many other Welsh programmes construct a sense of Welsh identity through either their local (a soap opera being made in Merthyr) or national (the channel S4C) position:

> Tim) I think Nuts and Bolts is really Welsh. It is set in Merthyr and that is where I live so I think that is kind of cool. Also I think S4C is important for national identity in Wales. This channel is important to our culture and identity. Another important Welsh programme is 'Pam Fi Dew' which is about young people's issues and living as a Welsh young person in Wales. To me these things promote a Welsh identity.

Aspects of Welshness were also related to music. For Abdul, music, to varying degrees, can highlight national identity. He perceives his musical taste as being much wider than that of his parents; he sees this as a generational difference as his cousins in India also appreciated Indian and Welsh music. His dual identity becomes apparent through his choice of two types of music, both of which he feels reinforce the two elements of his identity. Abdul comments:

> Abdul) For me, the bands in Wales have promoted our identity and they have widened Wales through music. Yes, I listen to Indian music and the Stereophonics. I think our culture is changing all the time. My parents would not dream of listening to any type of music other than Indian music. I love all types of music and I even burn CD's and send them to my cousins in India – they even like the Manic's and Stereo's.

In order to prompt further discussion I showed the participants a clip from a video in which a politician talks about the rise of 'Cool Cymru'. He claims: "today it is cool to be Welsh thanks to 'Cool Cymru". I asked the participants whether they had heard of 'Cool Cymru' and to comment on the video clip. I also asked them to what extent they thought 'Cool Cymru' was a good idea for Wales and its identity. Discussions produced both favourable and negative responses. Steve, for example, thinks it is

'cool to be Welsh'. He shows a passionate pride in his town which he sees as a centre of culture and he seems to view this as a recent development. As he explains:

> Steve) I have heard of that 'Cool Cymru'. It was when they were promoting all the bands and famous people in Wales. I think at the moment it is cool to be Welsh, especially in Cardiff. Cardiff is an up and coming city and it is brilliant living here. It is going to be the new capital of culture because it has got lots to offer. I think Cardiff should be up there with Paris and Milan. At the end of the day we are the future generation and if we have no pride in our culture then there is no hope for the rest I think.

Rita, a participant from a multi-faith school in Cardiff, is aware of 'Cool Cymru' and places this phenomenon alongside various celebrities she feels have strengthened a Welsh culture and its national identity. She mentions her Bengali identity but moves on quickly and affiliates herself with Wales:

> Rita) As I have said I'm Bengali and I think that the 'Cool Cymru' is good for Wales. I think of all the famous people who are important to Wales, people like the *Manics*, Catherine Zeta Jones and Tom Jones. I think it is good because they represent Wales and give us an identity.

Some participants felt that 'Cool Cymru' was a concept that relied heavily on differentiating Wales from England, by overemphasising the Welshness of the bands and other performers. The following quotes from the participants present a more sceptical view of the idea of 'Cool Cymru'. Leah's comments illustrate a cynical view of Cool Cymru', which she describes as a marketing ploy. With reference to her father, she describes a long standing tradition of Welsh culture, and she seems to feel that trying to promote Wales as somehow 'cool' usurps this historical culture which she sees as a bogus claim to Welsh culture. As Leah describes:

> Leah) My mum's heard of 'Cool Cymru' and well my step-dad is very into the sort of Welsh culture thing. He tries to promote Welsh and teaches at Coleg Glan Hafren and he also is into promoting the Welsh culture. He is into the traditional culture and goes to the Eisteddfodd every year and gives various lectures. I am not like my dad and I think the idea of 'Cool Cymru' came from some boffin in business who thought "lets call Wales cool like 'Cool

> Britannia". All this is kind of like an advertisement for Wales so people think it is cool to be Welsh and have a Welsh identity.

Throughout many discussions of Wales, Jay expressed a negative interpretation of national identity and claimed not to regard himself as Welsh. For Jay, Wales defines itself through England – the 'Other'- and he commented there is constant rivalry between Wales and England, something with which he disagrees. He adopts a similar position to Leah and states that 'Cool Cymru' is a shallow construction. According to Jay, Wales plays on its Welshness and Welsh culture far too much. Francis also holds a similar view to Jay, seeing 'Cool Cymru' as a manufactured phenomenon and as an attempt to market Welsh products of various kinds more effectively in England. As Jay and Francis claim:

> Jay) I'm going to be a real cynic and say this Cool Cymru was about trying to advertise Wales as being different from England. I feel Wales tries too hard to be Welsh and it always hypes up the fact that it is a Welsh band or Welsh actor. It is just a ploy to get away from England and try to be different. I am not into this cool Wales...I think it's a big part of their advertising.
>
> Francis) I think the 'Cool Cymru' thing was just commercial advertising. It got all the Welsh bands involved to promote Welsh culture in their music. They may be very Welsh and love the Wales but they're not going to sell it to the English. The English are not going to buy Welsh culture.

The study shows a variation in the participants' thoughts about the phenomenon of 'Cool Cymru'. Several participants did not recognise 'Cool Cymru' as a genuine cultural movement, however most did perceive the emergence of a new, more dynamic Welsh popular culture which has promoted Welsh identity on the international stage. Some of the participants, particularly those with cynical views of 'Cool Cymru,' perceived the phenomena as being related to the supposed opposition between England and Wales. This issue was not inherent in my question but did appear to be a repeated element in the responses. Discussions of the standing of

Wales on an international level led to questions about Wales' position in a global world.

Culture, young people and globalization

Many writers argue that globalization lies at the heart of changes in contemporary culture and that cultural elements in turn lie at the heart of globalization. Some view culture as an "intrinsic aspect of the whole process" of globalization (Tomlinson, 1999: 22). Allen and Massey (1995) argue there are many globalizations occurring in the fields of culture, telecommunications and finance. Culture, as I have argued throughout this chapter, must be understood as dynamic rather than static.

Cultural aspects of globalization were discussed by many participants. They drew upon the relevance to local cultures, mixed cultures and even global cultures. According to Harvey (1989), global forces pervade young people's lives—or at least those living in the developed world. A study carried out by Kjeldgaard (2003) examined how young people in Denmark and Greenland use global and local "consumptionscapes" in their daily lives. Kjeldgaard does not believe that young people are engaged with a global culture but claims they are more obligated to partake in consumer culture, to interact with and contribute to that culture, producing their own experiences and meanings based on their local circumstances. The study I carried out shows how young people engage with many and various popular cultural forms but also draw on everyday instances of Welsh culture to inform their cultural make-up. Young people interact on the local, national and global levels. They are evidently influenced by mass global culture but this is not the determinant of their own national culture or identity.

The end of culture?

I asked the participants to think about the future of popular culture and the impact of globalization. I wanted to explore young people's expectations of the future for local and national cultures and national identity, and whether they will be sustained in spite of the processes of globalization. Several participants claimed that their national culture and national identity now appear to be fraught with uncertainty. They spoke about the ways in which cultures may fragment, change or even merge with one another to form one 'super culture'. Many other participants suggested that their national culture and national identity will continue to be reinforced within a global world and used examples from Wales and Europe to highlight their points of view. The study also asked the participants to what extent people are becoming 'Americanized' through globalization. Many participants agreed with the idea that the Americanization of culture is very much part of their daily lives, but argue that this does not necessarily affect their own national culture or identity. They highlighted that globalization plays an important role in their lives and while they can participate in a variety of cultures their everyday lives remain firmly anchored on a local and national level, a number of participants claimed that cultures are beginning to merge with one another. Some participants spoke about the possible merging or fragmenting of national cultures.

The majority of the participants were able to speak about globalization, a situation that in itself highlights the growing awareness of the concept. Several of the participants had experience of travel and other world cultures, and these participants

spoke with particular confidence due to their first hand experience. Eliza, for example, sees herself as being aware of many different cultures. She regards British culture as strongly influenced by America. She implies that American culture is ubiquitous from a British viewpoint, however she claims that Indian culture, from her experience, is not engulfed by Americanization in the same way. Matt perceives the globalization of a culture based on commodities but does not see this as affecting his national identity, implying that he sees capitalist consumer culture as being distinct from the culture that informs his identity. As Eliza and Matt explain:

> Eliza) I have travelled a lot and I have visited many countries in Europe. I suppose through my travel I have seen lots of different cultures. I am aware that cultures keep on changing and within the UK we have lots of different cultures but mostly American influences. This is due to living in a huge global culture. But, that is not the case for all countries. In India they have their own big Indian community which consists of films, television and magazines.
>
> Matt) I think at the moment there are lots of cultures we can access in our lives. But this will not affect the identity we have. Culture is more a sense of pleasure and something which is manufactured in our lives for us to think that is culture. Music and films are all produced so we buy them and people can make money that is all what big mass culture does.

Kate defines globalization quite succinctly without being consciously aware of the term. She sees the process as leading to a homogenization of culture:

> Kate) Culture will become so similar that it will be hard to pick out different cultures and identities. Today the world is changing so quickly that each culture are kind of merging with one another. I can play Japanese games and eat Japanese food and watch their films without going to Japan – how weird is that?

These comments show an awareness amongst young people of the cultural effects of globalization. The above comments nevertheless only portray one type of response to the issue of how globalization will affect culture and national identity. A substantial majority of the participants in the study state that despite globalization national cultures and identity will remain, and believe that Welsh culture and identity is still

the dominant culture of Wales. As Michelle, a participant from a school in Bargoed, claims: "our world is so global and it is changing fast but that does not mean that our own culture and identity will change. Wales is forever changing and we have lots to be proud of and this will never change". Ian accepts further globalization will occur but does not feel this will threaten his national identity. He also qualifies national identity by showing that he understands that people also have local identities. He uses this example to evidence why increasing globalization will not diminish local and national identity. As he suggests:

> Ian) I think that although we are living in a more global world this has nothing to do with our Welsh culture suddenly changing. I think lots of people are proud of their culture and while we may have other cultures in our life this will not take away our identity and culture....I think people have also their own smaller identity like I am [from the] Valleys from Porth. And if you think of America you think of them being American, but they are from Texas or Florida.

In similar vein to Ian, Steve feels that national identity will remain firmly footed despite global influences. I asked Steve to think about how films or even music foster national identity. Interestingly, he illustrates his point by referencing a film (i.e. a piece of popular culture) which he feels portrays national culture. As Steve explains:

> Steve) Each country I think has its own identity in films and music or even in art. I suppose it is the same in other countries like Italy – I saw that film the other day 'Life is Beautiful' and it had Italian subtitles. So that has an Italian identity. Yes I understand what people are saying that we are becoming more global if that is what you want to call it but I think countries are holding onto their identities.

Young people clearly participate in a variety of cultures, local, national and global. Throughout the discussions of culture many participants talked about American influences without any prompts from myself. I decided to end the sessions on culture by talking about the extent to which the 'Americanization' of culture will begin to dilute other cultures.

Americanization is one of the ways in which writers talk about a global culture as being formed through the political and economic domination of the US. Scholte (2000) argues that much of the emerging global culture is, in effect, youth culture. He also states that some writers argue that global audio-visual media have made many young people more familiar with Hollywood constructions of the United States than with certain aspects of their own countries. My study shows how young people access a variety of cultures and while American culture may dominate part of their lives they still hold on to their national and local cultures. For some participants the future of cultures will involve both a homogenized and heterogenized framework.

Ryan, a participant from a school in the Rhondda also thinks there are differences in cultures and these are sustained despite globalization. Ryan perceives that a number of cultures have become globalized, and comments that Wales does not export its culture in the same way as larger countries. Yet, he nevertheless argues that Wales, too, is recognized as an internationally distinctive culture. As he explains:

> Ryan) If everybody thought they were American then there would be no differences between cultures and countries. People would be the same like... As we have said before Wales has its own culture and while it is not a culture that is world-wide like America we still have our own things. I agree that cultures are growing and the technology is changing so fast due to these changing cultures. I think music in Wales is our culture and we have given a lot of things to other countries like *The Super Furry's* and Tom Jones.

Yasmin shows a similar awareness of how significantly different cultures are. She explains the way in which culture is being maintained by saying that simply consuming the products of another culture does not equate with changing or losing ones identity:

> Yasmin) We all watch lots of American stuff but we live in Wales not America. We live our daily lives here and we are part of Welsh culture. My Bengali culture is different from Wales and America. I watch loads of Indian films but this does not make me more Bengali. I think our culture has lots of influences on people but just because I may buy a song or film from and made by Welsh people does not make me Welsh.

Tim echoes Yasmin's ideas. He feels he is a participant in a global network and sees how there are cultural differences within film. He sees American films as being accessible worldwide, while Welsh films are understood as being limited in their appeal to a Welsh audience. This point is similar to Ryan's earlier comment when he says Wales will not become a global culture. As Tim explains:

> Tim) I watch lots of American films and use the Internet but that does not mean I have to become American. I live in Wales and I am from Caerphilly. I have a lot of friends I chat to on the Net from the States and I even sent them the Welsh film *Twin Town*. They could not understand the film or the accents but yet we all understand American films. If the Americans can't understand the Welsh then there is no hope.

Caroline, a participant from a school in Cardiff, adopts a different position from the above comments. She believes globalization will bring about changes to some national cultures but is not threatened by what she sees as the end of Welsh culture. She feels more threatened by the idea of Wales being 'left behind' as global societies advance. Caroline's views are similar to the theorists (Giddens, 1991; Bauman, 1992) when she states that the culture of Wales will eventually erode. In a similar vein to Caroline, Francis who came from the same school, also believes that globalization will erode smaller nations and cultures. He believes this will be an inevitable process but does not advocate it to the extent Caroline does. Francis sees the eventual outcomes of culture as one homogenous 'super culture'. As Caroline and Francis argue:

> Caroline) I think more cultures are merging into one. Today we can access lots of different cultural things without moving to another place or country. I think it is a good thing that we are adopting other cultures and becoming more multi-cultural otherwise Wales would just be isolated....I think in years to come it will be hard to hold on to the Welsh culture because things are changing so fast within our world and cultures also change, they come and go. Wales will be broken up.
>
> Francis) I feel we are becoming more and more uniform. I believe the future of many nations will begin to kind of break up and so will Wales and its culture. It will not be the Americanization of the world basically it will be the America/British way... Most of the powerful countries follow suit when it comes to many cultural things – computers, mobiles and the net and without these the countries could not function. As I have argued before cultures and identities will change and that is inevitable.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed what was perhaps the most accessible topic of all chapters for the participants because 'culture' is arguably a more familiar issue for discussion than homeland or memory. While there are various debates among academics about defining culture and the precise role it plays in societies, the participants were clearly aware of distinctions between 'high' and 'popular' culture. They appear to be aware of what culture is and can talk of the influence of culture on national identity. They showed an awareness of 'high' culture, not a literate culture in the sense that Gellner (1983) suggests, but a more conventionally defined 'high' culture in which their parents participate. The young people participate in the more 'popular' forms of culture. As we can clearly see young people are engaged in a variety of cultures (a view that is supported by Hall, 1992) and move freely between a local, national and global culture through commodities such as music, film, television and consumerism. In order to define culture they would refer to Welsh culture, national identity and cultural elements which are significant to Wales, including celebrities, music, and film.

The study shows that there are different ways of about talking about culture and national identity but there are, nevertheless, ideas that are repeated throughout. The first was that culture influences national identity and is seen to 'construct', 'exhibit' and 'reinforce' national identity. Common and repeated elements were films, music and television and these three elements were often evident in conversations about the influences of 'Welsh culture' on Welsh identity. The second was that participants talked about a 'new' culture that has emerged in Wales and this was equated with the rise of celebrities and the phenomenon of 'Cool Cymru'. Despite the 'for and against' discussions of 'Cool Cymru', the study nevertheless shows that for the participants Wales has its own culture which is embraced by young people and that in their view Wales is becoming recognized on an international level due to this development. This would seem important in sustaining the participants' Welshness, for it confirms the existence of Wales as a nation. The third was that many participants not only talked about their Welsh culture but also of an Americanized or global culture. They are, however, aware that not all cultures or countries are influenced by Americanization or globalization, and that the effects of globalization are not uniform. While their lives are clearly engaged within a variety of cultures, they still feel that their local and national cultures play a vital role within their social world. Having access to the Net, computers, mass consumption and global media has not, for the large part, eroded their sense of having a national identity, which remains significant to them.

Globalization was a popular topic throughout the discussion of culture, which indicates that globalization and cultural influences are not only debated by academics but also talked about among young people. While issues of fragmentation (Featherstone, 1995), the 'disempowerment' or eroding of nation-states (Appadurai,

1996; Held, 1990) were not explicitly referred to by the participants, their comments showed some understanding of these complex issues. A common belief among nearly all participants was that global influences upon nations did not mean the end of national identity. They are generally aware that cultures are constantly shifting and transforming and see this as being an inevitable process but one that will not, at present, erode national cultures or identity. A few participants held views similar to those of writers such as Featherstone, (1995) and Appadurai (1996), stating that globalization will cause fragmentation and erode national cultures and identities. For these participants national and local cultures will eventually be destroyed and replaced by one homogenous 'super culture'. However, the research underlines what is pointed at by recent empirical work in other contexts – the persistence of national identity.

Chapter Eight

"History shapes us."

History and National Identity

This chapter looks at the participants' views of the relationship between history and national identity. As Chapter Three noted, in the literature many theorists place history centrally in the construction of the nation and national identity. The earlier discussion highlighted how thinking about the role of history in the formation of national identity involves consideration of a variety of matters such as the role of the past, memory and myths, as well as history as a discursive construct. This chapter examines how young people talk about the significance of history for national identity, and includes some discussion of the role of the past, memory, history teaching and the impact of globalization. The chapter also follows the same framework as previous chapters, looking at how history shapes national identity, how a national memory or a sense of the past is reproduced, and how it is sustained within our globalizing world. When thinking about national identity and history there are a variety of factors to be considered. The first section of the chapter examines the importance of history for the nation and national identity. The second section analyzes the ways in which history is seen to reproduce national identity and this involves consideration of the role of museums and commemorations. Also, this section focuses on the role of education and how education promotes a national past. Finally, the chapter discusses the importance of globalization for history.

History, the nation and national identity

Chapter Three highlighted the complex variety of narratives and discourses that are constantly reproduced when thinking about the relationship between history and national identity. Many writers have explored the importance of history for the nation and national identity. Reicher and Hopkins (2001) show how history has now become a prominent feature in the study of the nation, but suggest there is debate about precisely what role history plays. They also put forward the view that they are not interested in the history of nations as such, but with the ways in which history and historical ideas are used to reinforce the idea of nations. This section examines the ways in which young people talk about the significance of history for the nation and national identity. Alongside history, common themes identified by the participants were memory and the past. The section also explores the significance of the past and memories for history and national identity.

In order to generate a discussion among the participants about history and the nation I placed a number of postcards and books in each group that portrayed history, historical figures and historical events. These ranged from kings and queens, to places of historical interest. Asking the participants to think about history and the nation generated some interesting discussions. Like the broader concept of national identity being something which is fixed, history was also described as immutable.

Rhianydd feels history forms part of a nation, drawing upon Welsh history and suggesting that history is unalterable. History, then, is seen to play a significant role in the shaping of the nation, a view shared by a good number of participants. As Rhianydd comments:

> Rhianydd) History surrounds us everywhere. I think about our Welsh history and how much history Wales has got...History forms the nation in some way and we cannot change history. Without history a country cannot have an identity.

Wodak *et al.* (1999) state that history is fundamental to the discursive production and reproduction of the narrative of the nation. Along similar lines to Wodak *et al.* the participants drew upon a variety of narratives to highlight the importance of history for the nation. Scott begins his discussion talking about European history and then discusses his national history. For Scott, Welsh history is important for the nation and national identity and claims that history is unchangeable In addition, he discusses his local history and illustrates a tragic incident in Aberfan (in 1966) in which a landslide killed many schoolchildren. Here we have a variety of local and national narratives that draw upon the ways in which the history informs national identity. Scott also discusses the role of remembrance and commemoration, another important feature when thinking about history:

> Scott) When I think of history I think of the French Revolution and big historical events. Wales also has lots of history too and history to me is something which is important to our nation and identity and something we can't change. I only have to think about my local village in Aberfan where there was a landslide years and years ago and all those children died. Our village will not forget this and we are always reminded of this by the cemetery in memory of those who died.

In order to make sense of history and national identity, Kate, a participant from a school in Pontypridd, suggests that history does not explicitly effect people's daily lives but once thought about can help shape people's identity. Kate discusses her locality and comments on the role of collective memory and former mining communities in creating a local identity, and she draws upon a local rather than a national sense of history. As Kate explains:

> Kate) In every day life history may not seem that important...In a way history shapes us because without history we could not learn from events that have happened in the past. My local village has had an effect on my identity because I live in the Rhondda and we are always reminded of our history and the pits. To the people today the pits have gone but the Rhondda still keeps that memory alive.

A further element discussed by the participants was the history of the Welsh language and its historic significance for Welsh culture. Laura, a participant from a Welsh-medium school near Llantrisant, places the Welsh language as a central contributing factor both in Welsh history and Welsh identity. She argues that there is a different attitude to the Welsh language, which is encouraged today whereas in the past it was repressed. As Laura claims:

> Laura) Every single country has a history. The history in Wales includes many things such as castles and famous historical figures. History is definitely linked to our Welsh language and Welsh identity. Today people can learn Welsh but years ago people fought hard to keep the language. Without learning about our past then we have no identity. What I mean by this is the past shapes who we are because without a past Wales would not be Welsh.

Caroline presents a different view to the above, remarking on the ways in which history is interpreted and how historical events are subject to dispute. In a similar vein to Wodak *et al.* (1999) it would seem that Caroline is referring to the ways in which history is discursive and can be understood in a variety of ways. She further implies how history is influenced by other histories. For Caroline, therefore, history is a construction:

> Caroline) I don't know whether people would equate national identity with history but history is very important to the shaping of the country. There have been lots of discussions about Welsh history and there are lots of books written about it. But people think about history in different ways. People will always remember events differently and every history is different from other histories and events.

In order to make sense of the role of history in shaping national identity the participants illustrate a variety of narratives and discourses from their national and local history. These stories not only reinforce their ideas about history but also show that history is discursively produced. The national past has to be constructed in a way that supports 'our' past from that of others and it has to weave into the national past the histories of localities within the national territory. In doing so, the participants link their localities to the nation. For example, they talked about their local history and how it has impacted upon their local and national identity. From this we can argue that the young people talk about histories rather than history.

Past and memory

As Samuel and Thompson (1990) comment, the past acts as an historical force in the present. McCrone (1998) shares a similar view, arguing that history is not just about the past but also incorporates the present. According to Reicher and Hopkins, "the relationship between the national past, the national present and the national future is not simple and one-way, but rather multiply mediated and reciprocal" (2001: 24). These writers highlight that there is not a straight forward relationship where the past influences the present and the future, but rather that history and our view of the past is re-evaluated in the light of the present.

For the participants, however, the past is treated largely as unproblematic. The past exists independent of the present, though exerting an influence over it. It is the past that shapes the present, not the other way round. In discussing the past many participants drew upon their experiences of local and national histories, connecting these with their self-identity. For example, a participant from a school in Cardiff

commented: "the past is linked with history and our identity. The past is about events that have happened and the various castles and traditions that are part of the past". I asked the participants to think about whether the past influences their national identity. Several participants talked about how traditions and heritage have influenced their identity and knowledge of the past. They also, more generally, commented on the ways in which the past informs the present.

Julie, a pupil from a school in Cardiff, once again illustrates the idea that national history somehow creates national identity. For her, all nations are dependant for their very existence on their official accounts of history. Official history may be taught through schools, governments or the media. According to Julie, the past consists of symbols and traditions which shape Wales and Welsh identity. Darren draws upon his sense of national history and includes stories once told by his father. Here narratives re-create a sense of the past but they are also told and re-told among family members and within communities. As they both explain:

> Julie) Our Welsh history makes us Welsh. Traditions, the kings of Wales, the dragon and our heritage come from the past. I think history and the past is important because if we didn't have a history we wouldn't be classed as British or English and we wouldn't be Welsh.
>
> Darren) I agree history is linked to the past. Everything is linked to the past. The past has to shape us in one way even if we are not aware of it. My dad told me about the miners strike in Wales and how people fought to keep the pits open. Today there are no pits and no-one strikes. History was important for the people in the Valleys and it gave them a stronger identity.

Rita, a participant from a multi-faith school in Cardiff, mentions her knowledge of Pakistani history and suggests that there is more than one possible version of a national history. As Rita explains:

> Rita) History is important because it tells you about the country and what has happened. Wales has a different history from my country Pakistan. Everyone in Pakistan has a different story about history because we have had a lot of troubles and so much fighting. The past is important because we have to learn from the past because it tells us so much about our country today and the various memories we have of the past.

Rita's comments underline that the relationship between history and identity is complex and difficult to define. Even though Rita demonstrates an awareness that the past is constructed, she nevertheless endows it with important qualities, suggesting, as with the other pupils, that national histories are seen as real. Wodak *et al.* (1999) note that trying to uncover the truth about history one must look at how it is imagined and how memories are constructed and only then will national identity be sustained. Many of the participants spoke about memory as being distinct from the past. The majority of the participants viewed memory as something which can easily become inaccurate or distorted. Since memory is the basic currency of history it therefore follows that history is subject to interpretation and question.

Some students did not view remembrance as contested, instead seeing it as simply the ways in which the past is retrieved in the present. Jane, a participant from a school in Merthyr, claims history shapes the nation and national identity. She makes reference to the memory of historic events and how they continue to inform the present. Along similar lines, Stuart claims that collective memories become part of the national narrative and people can access their national history by reading books or visiting heritage sites. He also talks about the history of Wales and highlights the ways in which the past is remembered through institutions such as the media and print technology – these, according to Stuart continually reproduce the past in the present. As Jane and Stuart explain:

> Jane) Most of history is all memories about what we remember about certain things. The past is linked with history and this is what shapes us and the country we live in. If you think about Wales we are always reminded of things which have happened in the past. You take the Rebecca Riots that happened many years ago. We still remember this and this is something which has influenced Wales and my home town of Merthyr today.
>
> Stuart) All histories are linked with memory. History is based upon what people remember about the past and this information is put into books and museums. Wales has lots of history and we are reminded of this through history books, the television and the various castles and statues around us. The memories are still with us today.

History, however, is not always straightforward, as some participants clearly highlight. Charlotte demonstrates that history is not always unambiguous. She appreciates that the process of remembering includes elements of forgetting and, concedes that by extension, history itself is selective. Beth understands that history is made up of a collection of memories. Beth feels that older generations place too much emphasis on the past and their own memories. As Charlotte and Beth explain:

> Charlotte) I think people share a sense of pride being Welsh and most people hold on to this. Some people cling to the past and their memories like my Nan. She does tend to change her stories to suit her. I agree memories and history are important but memories fade I think and people remember things differently. So in a way history may be reported differently. We can share in the memories but now we have to be careful. We now have our own lives to lead.
>
> Beth) I think history is important but the older generation hold onto it more than the younger generation. I think the old ones cling on to the past and all their memories and remember it how it was but don't move forward. In a way history is about memory and what we remember. Without these memories there can be no history and without this we can have no identity...I agree we can learn from history but we must move on and make our own history happen.

While it would appear that the young people generally understand that history is significant for national identity, their knowledge of their national history often appeared limited. None of the participants could speak in any detail about their country's history, and they also did not seem to have any knowledge of the broader

picture of their national past. They seemed on the whole to understand that memories informed history and how the narratives and traditions of national history can be selective and open to interpretation. Although in most cases they had not considered this previously, they could see that there are histories as opposed to a single history and that these histories may be contradictory and change over time.

The reproduction of history and national identity in Wales

National museums are partly responsible for constructing a narrative of national history for the nation's citizens and presenting the nation to others. Writers such Anderson (1991) and Hooper-Greenhill (1992) highlight how museums can play an important symbolic role in reproducing the past, knowledge and nationhood. National museums provide a way of representing and organizing the nation's heritage through folklore, myths and artefacts. Smith (1991) argues that the search for a national culture led art galleries and museums to be set up to capture the idea of the nation, and it was artists, philosophers, painters, historians and poets who further enhanced the idea of the nation through their work and contributed to the various symbols and myths of a national history and culture. As I argued in Chapter Three, while museums may be responsible for constructing various accounts of national history there will always be competing narratives of the national past.

I showed the participants a video-clip about Welsh history, narrated by Richard Burton. After this I asked them to think about various places in which they can access information on Welsh history and to consider whether history influences national identity.

According to Sarah, history is displayed within museums. She mentions the National Museum of Wales, discussing the ways in which people can access and re-establish the past. She comments that not only do museums promote history, they also reconstruct the past in the present and she uses St Fagans[xxxiv] as an example. Sarah also highlights how history and identity can transform over time and suggests that history is subject to change. As she explains:

> Sarah) History is important. We have got museums which present us with information about the history of Wales. The museum of St Fagans in Cardiff has created the past and has tried to re-invent it to show people what living in Wales was like. You can also see how history changes and the ways in which people lived and I suppose we can see how identities have changed too.

Claire also expresses the view that museums and other commemorations play a significant role in the construction of the past. She also draws upon markers that, for her, are key elements of a Welsh history: coal mining and the Eisteddfod. For Claire, symbols and commemorations help promote the nation and national identity. Rhian similarly emphasises how significant historical figures are for Wales and Welsh identity. She also highlights the role of history in bringing tourism to Wales and how this has encouraged various museums to create a bilingual history in which people from non-Welsh and Welsh speaking backgrounds can participate. What is interesting in both instances is how national identity is interpreted through a local framework. Note how Claire refers to coal mining, assuming it to be a salient feature of the national history of those living outside the principle (former) mining regions of the south Wales valleys. In Rhian's case, she talks about her school and her locality being part of history by contributing to national identity through the national anthem. Both cases illustrate the importance of locality for national identity. As Claire and Rhian claim:

> Claire) There are lots of places we can find out about our history. Like libraries, a museum and especially the Internet are important because they teach us about our history even if we did not know about it. I think we need to remember the past and our traditions in Wales. This is what makes Wales -the coal mining, the Eistedfodd and the Welsh lady[xxxv]. These are part of who we are and part of our history. This is what makes Wales Welsh and without our history in Wales then we cannot be Welsh.
>
> Rhian) Places and historical figures are important for Wales. Museum and places of interest bring a lot of money through tourism and today we can access history in both Welsh and English.... I live in Pontypridd and I suppose our school is part of history because it was built on a mine. Also there was Evan James and James James whose statue is in the park. They wrote our national anthem and probably contributed to our identity in some way through the anthem.

Some participants were, however, less receptive to the appeals of the past. Sam, for example, believes the way Welsh history is presented in the present is of limited value, seeing it only as a 'romanticized' version of Welsh history presented to those living outside the country. As he argues:

> Sam) I agree history can be found in all places in Wales and history is promoted everywhere... In school you learn about history first. To me I think the history of Wales is a promotion for the Welsh tourist board to hype up Wales. It is mainly only tourists who visit these places anyway. I know we cannot ignore history but our way of life now and our future is more important.

The participants therefore view museums as playing a part in making people aware of the past. However, the historical figures and issues to which they referred are arguably fairly widely known in Wales, rather than things they would find out about in museums. Was it through school, then, that they acquired this knowledge?

Some participants discussed the role of education in shaping national memories. These discussions generated some interesting debates about the subject of history in school. The main historical focus in schools history according to the participants centred on Nazi Germany, with little on Welsh history. According to Phillips

(1998b), it is important to look at the way history is taught within schools; only by doing this can we can begin to see the ways in which history and the past can impact upon national identity. Phillips (1998a) states that the majority of history taught in British schools is linked to World War II and to the French Revolution. Thus, students have a limited conception of history within schools. More specifically, as we will see, knowledge of Welsh history was even more restricted.

A substantial majority of the participants in this study had not studied AS/A level history. Only twenty-eight participants were studying history at AS/A level. A recurring theme, mentioned by nearly all the participants, was the perceived lack of Welsh history teaching and the focus on other national histories. For the great majority of pupils, their knowledge of Welsh history derived from the teaching within their primary schools. However, they did state that history teaching is important; for some of the participants it "shapes who you are" and "it gives you your identity". As Claire stated, history provides knowledge of 'our' past and identity:

> Claire) Of course history should be taught at school. It is most definitely part of the curriculum. I am studying history and one of the modules is done in Wales in the 17th century. I have also studied Welsh poetry. To me, studying history is very important because it gives you a sense of how places have survived and how each place has a history and its own identity.

Charlotte, another participant from a school in Caerphilly, comments that she knows very little about Welsh history but suggests that schools should teach more about the history of the nation. What is interesting here is that if young people are only taught about Welsh history at a young age, from where do they obtain their information about Welsh history? Lee talked about studying history, but the main core of the history curriculum focuses on Nazi Germany. Lee has not studied any Welsh history at secondary school and only studied it at his primary school and developed his

knowledge through conversations with his father. Lee nevertheless provides some clue about how knowledge of the past, and the notion that the past is learned. As Charlotte and Lee explain:

> Charlotte) In primary school you are taught about the history of Wales but then in the secondary school you are not taught that much. The history we are taught in school is mostly French and Nazi Germany history. I don't really know a lot about my own history, I even went to school in a castle so that is pretty amazing. I would love to know more about the famous people who have made a difference to the history of Wales, people like Glyndwr, Bevan and all these people.
>
> Lee) The history we are doing at the moment is about the 'French Revolution'. I enjoy learning about other countries but we do a lot of Nazi Germany and stuff all the time. We don't do anything to do with Welsh history. What is Welsh history? I was taught all that stuff at my primary school and my dad told me a lot about Welsh history. I think it is something you learn when you live in Wales

Natalie, a participant from a school in Caerphilly, spoke in detail about her experiences of studying history at school. She is learning Welsh and talked about being Welsh in a very positive way. In her remarks about history she draws upon two common elements which help promote the nation and identity: language and culture. Although she has not studied much Welsh history at A-Level she continues to place great emphasis on the ways in which history reproduces identity. As Natalie explains:

> Natalie) I am studying history at AS level and I think I have learned so much about history and the various things that have happened. History makes us individual and it gives us an identity. Your history is what makes you Welsh. What I mean by this is that it shapes the language, culture and traditions of Welsh life. We don't learn or study much about Welsh history. We have done stuff like the Rebecca riots but not a lot. I was taught about Welsh stuff when I was in junior school.

From my study it would appear that schools are therefore responsible for delivering a national curriculum which largely excludes national history. This result seems to be in opposition to Low-Beer's (2003) theory that history teaching in school has an overemphasis on national identity or a nationalist agenda, in my study there seemed to

be a little teaching of national history either Welsh or British. Education may appear to play a vital role in teaching young people about history but from the study carried out it is not education which teaches young people about their national history. There are a variety of places which the participants acquire knowledge about their national past, but arguably the most important is living in a place and learning over time how events in a locality were part of events in the national past. Education and institutional sites, discussed much in theoretical work, do not dominate the process of how the past feeds into the present.

History, identity and globalization

As I have highlighted in this chapter, there has been a good deal of discussion of the relationship between history and national identity, yet comparatively little attention has focused on the relationship between history and globalization. Some writers such as Duara (1996) and Jenkins (1995) have investigated the relationship between history and postmodernism. According to Duara, postmodernists tend to play down history, seeing identities as constructed by modern discourses. In a similar vein Jenkins (1995) considers history in terms of "contestation and change" (1995: 67). For him, the conditions of postmodernity have produced the multiplicity of histories which can be seen everywhere. (1995: 65). For both Jenkins and Duara, history is an entirely artificial concept continually defined and re-defined in the modern age. Globalization, and in particular the dramatic changes brought about by the media, play its part here. According to a number of participants, history today can be witnessed in the present – thus history becomes the present. That is, through media technology people can now act as witnesses to history in the making, an idea linked to

9/11. I asked the young people to what extent they feel history will remain significant in a globalized world.

Francis does not see history as being greatly affected by globalization, however he perceives that the way history is being 'laid down' now and in the future will be different to the way it was recorded in the past. He illustrates this by reference to the case of 9/11, which was broadcast to a world audience virtually as it happened. He sees this as distinct from the way history would have been recorded in a filtered form previously, which he views as a positive development. Caroline supports this view and the idea that history is often reinterpreted in light of future political climates, but does not see this as being a result of or connected to globalization. As Francis and Caroline comment:

> Francis) History and globlization - the two don't really seem compatible. What I mean by this is our global world and is continually changing all the time. History is something that we cannot change. I know history can be rather fabricated at times but today history is more accurate due to the media... We can see history as it happens today and people will have the same news story all over the globe. Just think of September the 11th.
>
> Caroline) I agree with Francis that history and the global world are miles apart. History is something which has gone but globalization is the future and is always changing all the time. History is important but at times can be rather inaccurate and to me must be aware of this. If you think about some historical events then things have been changed to protect people. I can think of Germany and how they have banished many traces of Hitler especially in schools. People can often be hidden from history and that is why we must be careful when thinking about history....People today can have access to many events of history and this is because of globalization. The media is trying to depict history as it happens and this is to do with global technology. We can see history as it happens throughout the world.

Ben, a participant from a Welsh-medium school in Llantrisant, agrees with the argument that history will not be altered directly by globalization but in his view this is because history itself is immutable. As Ben explains:

> Ben) History will still exist despite globalization. We cannot forget about our history because that is really important. Nor can we build a new history because history is built on facts and memories....Today we can see history as it happens on our TV. We can see how history is shaped and learn from this September the 11th incident in America that really shocked the whole world. They are still learning from history.

Even so, some of the participants highlighted how much we depend on the media to find out about events in different countries, something that means we may not know a great deal about what is actually happening. Thus, even with increased globalization people living in a country may not have a different sense of what is happening in their country to those living elsewhere, as Yasmin's comments illustrate. Her remarks also illustrate how for many participants it is inconceivable that the past will cease to matter. As Yasmin suggests:

> Yasmin) Yes, I think history will continue to be important even if our global world expands and expands. History is one of the most important things for the country and its identity and without this there could be no countries. There is too much conflict going in the world for countries to form one big country. If you think about my country Pakistan, there will never be peace. Also, different countries get told different histories. What I mean by this is what goes in on in Pakistan is never reported accurately over here. So, there are different histories in other countries are different.

The idea that history is unalterable is once again highlighted by Jane. Like Yasmin, and many of the others, for Jane there is a sense that history is not a construct. It may be misrepresented, as Yasmin suggests, but it cannot just be created. As Jane comments, 'history does not work like that'. As she expresses:

> Jane) History will always be important despite the changes of globalization. You cannot change history and write something else. We can make-up different things like new music or a new film but history does not work like that. It would be like knocking down the pyramids in Egypt saying that they are too old and therefore this history does not exist. People like to preserve history and while other things may change like the Internet, history will always be the same.

There were broadly three ways in which participants' linked history to globalization. Firstly, the impact of the media is changing the way in which history is displayed and accessed through the Internet and television. Secondly, history is viewed by some participants as something established which is not subject to change, whereas globalization was described as a phenomenon that is constantly shifting, and conversely to the last point other participants saw history as inaccurate and open to misinterpretation, thus highlighting its changeable nature. We can see from the links the participants made that they think history will be affected by globalization. However, they do not see the importance of history as being lessened or diluted by globalization, insisting that national history will remain fundamental to national identity.

Conclusion

From many of the participants the nation and national identity can only be 'imagined' through history. Reicher and Hopkins comments, outlined at the start of this chapter, clearly expresses this view: "it is not so much whether nations have history or not, but rather the ways in which nations use historical themes as part of their national imagination" (2001: 17). Therefore, for the participants, and indeed arguably for most people, a nation cannot exist without history. Overall, history is seen to play a role in constructing the nation and national identity. The debate about history being static or subject to transformation echoes a similar debate in Chapter One and Six about whether nations or national identity are 'real'. There was a perception amongst many of the participants that history is based on 'fact' and therefore is indisputable. However, some participants could see the received version of history may be subject to dispute or debate. When asked how history affected their own national identity the

participants primarily spoke about their local history rather than the history of Wales as a whole. References to local history, especially local figures or events that are nationally known, seemed to make national history 'real' and more tangible. Most participants regarded the past as beyond debate and this undoubtedly reinforces the reality of the nation, after all, if there is a national past then there must be a nation.

The participants seemed to have limited knowledge of history and historical events. From their comments it would appear that they only have a cursory knowledge of their 'national' history. As Phillips (1998a) suggests their national history plays a minor role compared to the amount of time spent on European history. As far as my study suggests, education plays a very small part in teaching young people about their national history. The majority of knowledge of their country's history comes from what they have learned from heritage sites, museums, the media or simply taught by parents and grandparents and this informs their sense of history. This may be the reason why young people have a limited knowledge of Welsh history. Thus, while they may feel that history gives their nation a lengthy past, for most participants they had, in practice, a thin level of knowledge about the past. This is not intended as a criticism of the participants, instead, it highlights that their understanding of history is mythical or symbolic rather than factual.

Chapter Nine

"Wales is my home."

Land/Territory and National Identity.

One of the central ideas examined in my study is the view that without land/territory a nation or national identity cannot exist. Chapter Four highlighted a number of areas to be considered when thinking about the significance of land/territory for national identity, such as how land is seen to 'shape' national identity, attachments to land/territory, the role of national symbols, and finally, the impact of globalization on national identity. This chapter investigates young people's perceptions of the relationship between land/territory and national identity, looking at how important land/territory is understood to be when thinking about the nation and national identity. The first section looks at what land/territory means to young people before moving on to examine the significance of land/territory for the nation and national identity. Moreover, the section examines how young people feel about their own country, Wales, and their Welsh identity when thinking about land/territory. The second section examines young people's attachments to their locality, place and land/territory and how this influences their sense of national identity. The third section considers the ways in which national symbols help to reproduce conceptions of land/territory and national identity, exploring the more popular symbols such as flags and anthems, and examines how young people talk about the significance of these national symbols for their national identity. The final section explores the young people's views of the influence of globalization on land/territory and what the future holds for lands and nations in light of concepts such as the 'virtual' nation.

Territory/land and the formation of the nation and national identity

As noted in Chapter Four, writers such as Sack (1986), and Gruffudd (1995) argue that land/territory plays a significant role in the shaping of national identity. Furthermore, Grosby (1995) states that a feature of all societies is territoriality and holds that one element of territoriality is a primordial or natural attachment to land and that, through this attachment, people begin to think of themselves as belonging to a particular territorial community. These writers have contributed significantly to the study of land/territory, however like a good deal of work in this field, discussions are largely theoretical and do not consider how people perceive and understand their relationship to land/territory and the ways in which it may contribute to their national identity. In the study I carried out many of the participants interviewed claimed that territory/land is indeed a key feature for the nation and national identity. As I have shown so far in this thesis, nations/territories are often conceptualized as natural because people think of themselves as belonging to a particular territory and, consequently, having a national identity.

In the study the participants were given a series of postcards of various countries throughout the world and were asked to consider how central land/territory is for the nation and national identity. Many participants claimed that land is a natural feature of national identity and suggested that "without land there can be no nation or national identity". However, there were a few participants who argued that land/territory is not the only significant factor and stated that culture and travel were equally important.

From the comments below it is evident that the participants attribute to land/territory a significant role in the 'creation' of nations. Many participants claim that people are 'born into' and 'belong' to the land/territory and that this creates an attachment to the nation. Words such as 'real', 'touch', 'belong' and 'exist' were used among the participants. From the study it would appear that some participants think of themselves as 'naturally' belonging to a land/territory. Both Hayley and Helen claim that nations are 'real' because it is possible to point to a physical space and comment that without land nations cannot exist. Hayley's view of the nation is similar in form to the responses made by participants in Chapter Six that a nation is made up of people and that it is the sense of belonging to a 'real' community that makes a nation. In this way, the comments point to the centrality of land, alongside the other key elements considered in the research. Georgia also believes nations are genuine but suggests that nations are only so because the land enables a human community to exist. She also identifies other markers of the nation such as language and culture but argues these cannot be physically 'touched':

> Hayley) People make up a nation and most importantly the land or territory. A nation links people. What I mean by this is that through a nation we can visit people in our own nation but also we can visit other people in their nation. I think it is like a community in which we all belong to.... I think without a land there can be no nations.
>
> Helen) I think without a land then you cannot have a nation. Without a place to live and belong to then nations could not exist. I live in Wales; Wales is the land in which I live in.
>
> Georgia) I suppose thinking about land/territory and nations then I think it is real to me. If you take language, culture and history, you can't touch these but we can touch people. Nations are about people and without land I don't think a nation can exist. So, yes, nations are real.

These responses highlight the ways in which nations appear to be 'objectified,' as is demonstrated in the language participants used to describe the nation, such as the

reference to being able to 'touch' the nation. From this we can argue that for some participants interviewed nations and national identities are shaped through land/territory in that the sense of being born or growing up in a territory endows an individual with the 'identity' of that place. Perhaps more so than culture or history, land confers identity. For many an attachment to a place could not be acquired, only conferred.

However, the participants do not always perceive that the relationship between land and national identity is straightforward. Rachel and Malcolm make sense of the nation by drawing on concrete examples such as a border or boundary and territorial conflict. Rachel, for example, talks about how borders and boundaries separate countries but argues these lines are imaginary. For Rachel, nations, borders, territory and boundaries are constructions which come to be viewed for many as unproblematic. Malcolm similarly describes nations as constructs and believes that borders, boundaries and nations change through conflicts. Therefore, for Malcolm, nations are not fixed but are constantly transforming. As Rachel and Malcolm comment:

> Rachel) I also think that a nation is not strictly genuine. If you think about various borders that surround each country then borders are sort of like an imaginary line that separates each country. From this then nations are not real at all. People know where they belong through these borders and lines and stuff.
>
> Malcolm) Nations change all the time so they can't be real. You take Germany and think of Hitler. He wanted to basically rule Europe and the world and have one big nation. What I am trying to say is through the wars then nations change and people change, whether it is through language or even their culture. You take the former Yugoslavia people have had to change their language in order to become something else. If you think about the land and nations then nations are not real, because they keep on changing all the time and we can see this. The land is real because we can see it but nations are not real.

A similar study undertaken in, for example, central Europe, would arguably generate many more such responses. However, in Wales, where the border is not in dispute, then it is perhaps not surprising that many of the participants tend not to question the significance of land/territory for national identity. Overall, we can see how participants make sense of whether nations are 'objective' by drawing upon a variety of elements. There are two ways in which the young people talked about nations. The first is that several young people claim that nations appear 'real' through physical markers such as the land or through the people. These physical phenomena are taken to constitute a nation. Second, some of the participants could see that the concept of the nation is more complex than the physical or political limits of the country and they perceived the nation to be a more artificial concept. However, it should be said that the participants generally expressed the view that land plays an important role in how they think about national identity.

I asked the participants to think about the importance of land for national identity by asking them to consider the relationship between Wales as a place and Welsh identity. A number of participants talked about land as a significant factor when thinking about national identity. Both Ben and Matthew's comments reiterate the view expressed by others that land 'creates' the nation and national identity. Thus, territory becomes an important marker in the formation of national identity. Ben draws upon attachment to place to suggest that through this he can define his identity. As they claim:

> Ben) The land makes the country. Without some kind of land there could be no country and no national identity. Where you live and where you grow up is really important. The place where you live defines who you are and your identity. I live in Wales. I am Welsh and I have a Welsh identity.
>
> Matthew) Land surrounds us everywhere in the valleys. There are lots of hills and mountains. Land of Wales... it is important, it gives you a sense of where you come from and your identity. Without the land or country you live in then

> you can't say where you are from. Everyone sees themselves as belonging to land whether it be your place where you live say the Rhondda or even the country like Wales. Without this people cannot have an identity.

Like the more general ways in which the participants talk about their Welshness, what is interesting here are the remarks about land somehow conferring the identity or 'character' of the nation. There are phrases one finds in other studies, and in wider discussions of territories. The repeated usage of these phrases seemed, at times, like the participants were reading a script. What is perhaps most significant about their comments is the view expressed so clearly by Ben, that to live in a place is to have the identity of that place.

According to Passi (1996), it is the actual territory that helps define the group as well as the historical legacy of a specific area, and the boundaries surrounding the national territory. This, according to Passi, adds an essential component of national identity. He also claims that the sense of belonging to a particular territory does not always stem from place of birth, but it can also include the value given to living in a place for many years or moving to a particular area to which one feels an attachment. Leon, a participant from a school in Cardiff, adopts a similar view to Passi claiming that "your place of birth does not give you your identity. There are lots of other things like culture, language and even travel. You can visit many countries and while each country is different there are similarities. I don't think land is that important". Leon, like Caroline below, was one of a small number of participants who shared a less restrictive view of what enable people to claim a national identity. It is worth noting that Leon's father was born in India, yet defines himself as Welsh. Leon is arguably more likely to be open to different views of national identity because of his family background. Likewise, Caroline, as will be seen, has lived outside of the UK, and is

perhaps more 'cosmopolitan' as a consequence. The quote below from Caroline also highlights that place of birth or residence is not so important for self-identity. Caroline talks about people becoming more mobile and being free to move around, commenting in particular on her own global networks. For Caroline, people can have a variety of attachments to place, whether they be national or global; thus, land is not so vital to people's sense of who they are. As she comments:

> Caroline) I think more and more people are moving around today and travelling. I know there are people who stay in one place and think 'that's where I was born and I cannot change that'. I have lived in many places in the world and I think the more you travel the more you can fit into other cultures and other customs. I live in the chat rooms on the web and I talk to so many people through the net and you will be surprised how much we have in common. We may live in another part of the world but some of us like the same music and wear similar clothes. I agree with Leon, the world is changing and land is not that important to who we are.

Some, perhaps the majority, of the participants' comments underline that land/territory is significant for national identity. For others there are many other factors to be considered when thinking about the importance of land for self-identity. However, what might be suggested is that all the comments underline the significance of land/territory for national identity. Those students who have been less mobile, unlikely to have lived outside their locality let alone country, tend to problematize the importance of land for national identity. Those students, the minority, who have lived elsewhere are less rigid in their views, only because they have been more mobile so they hold this view.

In order to understand further the importance of land for national identity I asked the young people to think of Wales purely as land and what images could they identify and associate with Wales, and to identify what makes Wales different from other nations. Overall, the majority of the participants identified Wales as being

synonymous with hills, sheep and mountains but some participants claimed these markers may be found in other countries. For some participants what makes Wales different from other nations is the bilingual road sign. Several participants defined Wales as being different from other countries, especially with reference to England. England was defined as the 'Other' and described as having more urban areas and as being less rural than Wales. For example, Mark, a participant from a school in the Rhondda, states: "Wales is our land and is so much better than England – we are small and have got lots to be proud of like our history, language and our massive stadium". Seren talks about the topography of Wales and claims it is different from England, which she sees as being more industrialized. In order to make sense of the land further Seren draws upon a song by the singer Tom Jones; for her, he distinguishes Wales from other countries by his homage to the 'Green Green Grass of Home'. For Seren, this reinforces the distinctiveness of land and captures something of what in her mind makes Wales different as a place. Harriett follows on from this idea of Wales being 'green' and talks about visiting Canada, which she believes is different from Wales. The Welsh language signs are for her another important marker of the land. What is important here is that Harriet maintains others share the awareness of what makes Wales unique as a place. As with the participants' discussion of the export of popular music to other countries making other people aware of Wales, so Harriet's remarks highlight that visible markers in the eyes of others reinforces the objective reality of Wales. As Seren and Harriet remark:

> Seren) I suppose what makes Wales Wales is the mines and the hills that surround us, oh! and the sheep. I think Wales is a unique country on its own. It is different from England which has lots and lots of buildings and less greenery. It is I suppose what Tom Jones wrote about what is the song oh yes the 'Green Green Grass of Home'. He knows and identifies with Wales and its land and maybe he thinks Wales is Wales because it is different from other countries.

> Harriet) My parents have friends in Canada and I know I am in Canada straight away. There is no one way in which you know about these places but you do, like Wales. For me, you know you're in Wales from the Welsh road signs around the country and the hills that surround us. Lots of people know that Wales is Wales because of these things.

Like Seren and Harriet, many of the participants believe there are a variety of markers that distinguish Wales from other nations. References to distinctive features of place were also clearly connected to judgements about Wales and other countries, between 'rural' Wales and 'urban' England. They also highlighted the ways in which, for most participants, tangible aspects of 'home' were linked to their feelings of national identity. It is the role of attachments to territory/land that I turn to next.

Attachments to a place, land/territory and national identity

Chapter Four highlighted the importance of attachments to land/territory and showed that the way people position themselves within their nation is important. As Rose comments, one way in which identity is connected to a particular place is by feeling that you belong to that place: "It's a place where you feel comfortable, or at home, because part of how you define yourself is symbolised by certain qualities of that place" (1995: 87-88). Within the sociological writings on territory and its relation to the nation, an attachment to a particular territory of the national state is seen as a structure considerably more far-reaching than that of the family or the surrounding locality. Many young people spoke about having an attachment to land/territory and they position themselves according to where they live. Words such as 'home', 'place' and 'belong' are common terms which were used.

Harry, for example, talks about an attachment to his locality, Cardiff, but also includes Wales as part of the 'big picture' and states how his national identity is

Welsh. Moreover, for Harry, like many other participants, national identity cannot exist without land. Alicia, too, refers to attachments to both country and locality. She refers to Wales as the land and to Llandaf, her locality. Here she conveys her attachments to both. However, Alicia seems to regard national identity as something which is immutable:

> Harry) I live in Cardiff and Cardiff is my home and that is where I live. But, a big part of my identity is being Welsh and this is because I live in Wales. I don't think you can have an identity if you don't live in a country. Wales is part of me'.
>
> Alicia) Wales is the land where I was born and Llandaf is my home, the place where I grew up. To me I can't be anything other than Welsh. I am proud of that.

Both Harry and Alicia refer to attachments to place and the land as being natural (being born in a country) and this somehow reinforces attachments to land/territory. For Ben, it is the locality in which one lives that establishes the attachment one has towards that particular place. He also believes that without land or the place in which you live one cannot have a national identity. Ben also draws upon the local and the national when thinking about land/territory. For Ben, his sense of place (his locality) resides in the south Wales valleys but his national identity lies within a wider context, Wales itself. When questioned about national identity and territory many participants use the place where they live or their locality first and then talk about their national identity. As I have noted in other chapters, for me this underlines that when we talk about national identity our views are coloured by what happens most immediately to us. What is happening in our locality, notably the fact that most of our experiences happen in the immediate locality, inform strongly what we think about when asked about national identity. As Ben comments:

> Ben) I live near the Valleys and that is my home. I belong there... Belonging means you feel part of that country. My country is Wales and that is where I was born so my identity is Welsh. Without the land there would be no country and no identity.

Sonia, a participant from a multi-faith school in Cardiff, brought another dimension to the discussion by talking about having multiple attachments to several countries and the idea of transnational identities. Although Sonia was born in Bengal she feels it is the country in which she now lives that has had more influences on her than her place of birth. Sonia's comments nevertheless highlight how for some people attitudes towards territorial identities are changing and that people can have one or more attachments to one or more places or countries. As she states:

> Sonia) I was born in Bengal and that is my birthplace and, yes, people can belong to one land and another. I have, as I said, lived in Cardiff for twelve years of my life and I feel Welsh. I have spent more time in the country of Wales than in Bengal but I still have my family and connections in that country and I email them nearly everyday. What I'm saying is that now I belong to Wales and though I know I was not born here I feel Welsh.

Sonia's comments also highlight that interaction with others, who live near and abroad, is relevant to how people conceptualize their attachment to place. Among other groups discussions of attachments to land/territory likewise generated references to the 'Other' though in a different manner. In the comments below, David and Laura talk about Wales being different from England as a consequence of the Welsh language, history, traditions and, indeed the land itself. David suggests that being born in Wales was significant for his identity and believes that the origins of nations lie in the formation of land. For David, what distinguishes Wales from England is the Welsh language. Laura also agrees that a country is important for identity. She talks about notions of difference, highlighting famous landmarks in Wales, and believes these are what make Wales different from England. Here Laura is referring to

physical features of the land she believes are important for her country. As they comment:

> David) I was born in Wales, and lived in Wales all my life. To me Wales is different from England. That is why we got our sign 'Welcome to Wales'. Our country is important to who we are. What I mean by this is we have got the language which the English don't have. Without the soil or the beauty around us then Wales would not be Wales. England have their own things like London, and we have ours.
>
> Laura) I think living in a country is important to your identity; I definitely have an attachment to Wales 'It defines who you are'. The mountains and things like the Brecon Beacons and Snowdonia make Wales what it is. England does not have this. Land is important and it can be distinguished from other countries as I have said.

In contrast to the above comments, Rhianydd argues there are things which are unique to Wales such as the Welsh language, but claims that Wales has similarities with other countries. She believes lots of people share the same rituals, whether it be eating or shopping, and that this applies to all nations in the United Kingdom. Rhianydd does not believe that attachments to land shape people's identity and highlights there are other features that anchor this effect:

> Rhianydd) There may be some things that we like to say we are Welsh and be different but really we are quite similar. We all eat fast food or go to Asda and so do lots of people in England and in the world.... Everyone may have different attachments to where they live but I don't agree that land is the main thing that shapes who you are and your identity. It is a mixture of lots of things.

As we can see from Rhianydd's remarks, some young people recognise how their world is becoming similar through cultural practices and material items such as shopping or food. At present this does not seem to be greatly affecting the way in which they talk about their attachments to Wales and their national identity. However, the role of globalization remains an important issue to consider (as I have shown throughout this thesis) when thinking about the relationship between national

identity and land. As I have highlighted, many participants claim attachments to land/territory can often appear real. People can also have many attachments to land/territory. For many participants attachments to land/territory will always involve notions of national difference and references the 'Other'. Here we can see the variety of influences on national identity, particularly with regard to the relationship between land and national identity. For those young people who see attachment to a place as important for their self-identities this affiliation appears to be reinforced in the differences they see between places as much as by what they believe to be unique to their homeland, and more especially to their locality.

Reproducing attachments to land/territory through national symbols

As I already highlighted in Chapter Four, national symbols are important markers for the nation and national identity. For many writers, national symbols play an important role in reinforcing territorial attachments and in highlighting the relationship between land/territory and national identity. Writers such as Hobsbawm and Ranger (1993) highlight this very point. For them, national identities are associated with symbols and semi-rituals, practices associated with particular places – most of which are historically novel and invented.

During the interviews I presented a number of national symbols to the participants, such as national flags, and anthems. I asked the participants how important these national symbols are for their country and their identity. I also asked them to consider whether these symbols could be replaced with a more up-to-date alternative. Nearly all the participants considered the icons shown to them to be influential on Welsh national identity. There was a strong view that as they were part of national heritage

and tradition they could not and should not ever change. Flags particularly were seen as significant to the land because they literally mark and delimit the territory.

Katie, for example, believes that national symbols are first promoted and taught in schools and then become further reproduced within cultural institutions such as the media, newspapers and television. For Katie, national symbols help reproduce notions of the nation and national identity and these remain a positive feature within the nation. Lee adopts a similar position to Katie and believes that national symbols and practices help support the identification with the nation. He believes the media promote and construct national symbols and through this people are encouraged to identify with these countries. As they comment:

> Katie) I think at school you are taught the anthem and which flag is linked to Wales. Then, it escalates into lots of stuff on TV and newspapers. I can think of Shirley Bassey dressed in the flag of Wales when she gave a song somewhere. Lots of things help produce our national symbols but I think this is a good thing because it reminds us of who we are and we are proud of what we got.
>
> Lee) I think the media are responsible for creating elements of national symbols like flags and other things. It is all money making when it comes to big sporting events or anything to do with the country on a national level. Here the media and big businesses are responsible. They fuel this national identity and country thing more.

These comments suggest that young people are aware of how national symbols are exhibited within their daily lives. The participants generally regard the flag and the national anthem as important markers for their country. The flag and anthem were the two most common points of reference when national symbols and practices were discussed, and they were important because they were associated with particular places because they mark place through their presence. Participants talked about how these symbols promoted and generated strong emotional responses. As Kelly, a

participant from a school in Merthyr, comments: "I love our anthem. It is so good to hear it and it even makes me cry especially when it says 'Wales!' 'Wales!'. All countries have their anthems and these are important".

Owain similarly believes that the national anthem promotes a feeling of what it means to be Welsh through the many references to land. As he observes:

> Owain) Anthems are about identity - identity to each country. I don't know why but I suppose I like it because it talks about the country, it talks about the land and how important this is and then people can identify with Wales and feel proud of who they are. The English one talks about the Queen and the monarchy.

These comments, supported by the views of many participants, highlight how for many young people national anthems display the idea of the nation and feelings of national identity through the many references to land/territory. The Welsh anthem was regarded as an important anthem by many participants because it generates a sense of identity among people, and because it makes explicit references to land. An interesting example used among some Welsh-speaking participants was the significance of the Welsh anthem in Patagonia. This was foremost in some of their minds because they had not long returned from a school trip there (the Welsh language is spoken in some parts of this province of Argentina). For Kate, the anthem is important because it reproduces national consciousness. It also becomes a global symbol in which people in Patagonia can participate in the practices associated with Wales and Welshness without actually living in Wales. Here for Kate, an 'imagined community' is developed through anthems. As Kate describes:

> Kate) We went back a few weeks ago to Patagonia and there's only a few people who speak Welsh. What they have to keep them Welsh is their Welsh national anthem. It's the only thing they've got to hold onto. So I think an anthem is very important for people. The Welsh language is certainly not keeping their identity alive.

For Kate, then, the anthem enables an attachment to a place even if people are living outside of it.

The role of flags and other national icons for a good number of participants seemed to convey a rather different image of the nation compared to anthems. Flags were seen to be significant because they can actually be embraced and displayed within a rugby or football match or other national celebration. Below, Laura, a participant from a school in the Rhondda, states that flags are symbols that become individualised, so people can identify with their nation. The dragon thus becomes a symbolic marker of Welshness, something which Laura believes is a unique symbol:

> Laura) A flag represents our country. It is about individuality. What I mean by this is that no other country has the same flag. The dragon is a powerful image. I don't think no other country has got a dragon, I think they have all colours and stripes. Flags are important because you can say to people I am from Wales and here is my flag.

Flags can act as symbols that can be carried from one place to another. For example, some of the participants, when abroad, take their Welsh flags with them. Thus, the flag acts as a signifier of their country and reminds others of their nation. Leah takes her flag when she goes on holiday to tell people where she comes from, yet it is also clearly about her sense of self as much as projecting this to others. Here the flag becomes a symbol of the nation, something which can be physically seen and touched. Along similar lines Rhianydd also takes the Welsh flag with her while abroad to act as a memento to other people from other nations of her nation and identity. As Leah and Rhianydd explain:

> Leah) When I am abroad I always take my Welsh flag with me and my Welsh towel. I want to show people where I am from and my flag just lets me do that. To me this is important to show people the country I come from Wales and I am not alone. There are always Scottish and Irish symbols that are taken on holiday...People are like me. They are proud of the country, where they live.
>
> Rhianydd) I always take my flag when I go abroad. I went to America and someone said where are you from? I said Wales and she said "you're English are you?" People don't know where Wales is. They think it is part of England. I want people to see me as Welsh. Flags to me are important because they remind people who we are and where we come from.

Leah's and Rhianydd's comments are shared by many other participants. For me what is interesting about such instances is that the participants are aware of how national difference matters to others as well as themselves and that nations are therefore real. From their observations of others, to their own apparent desire to communicate their place of origin to others, it is clear just how much interaction is at the heart of the process through which national identities develop.

In the above comments, the sentiments of which were echoed by a good many participants, we can begin to see how anthems and flags act as national symbols as reminders of land/territory and of national identity, and as prompts for symbolic interactionism. While flags and anthems may be among the more popular national symbols, the participants also identified other Welsh symbols such as St David's Day, love spoons and Welsh historical figures such as Aneurin Bevan and Owain Glyndwr. These symbols act as an identity indicator to illustrate Wales and Welsh identity. As one participant from a school in Pontypridd stated: "Leeks are a symbol of Welshness – we use them on St David's Day. People wear them and eat them and they symbolise Wales". Marie uses St David's Day as an example and highlights both the leek and daffodil as other national symbols for Wales. Marie comments that these

symbols form part of the history of Wales and without these markers Wales has little to identify itself as being different from other nations. These are symbols associated with Wales as a land. As she argues:

> Marie) Wales has got St David's Day. We also have the daffodil and the leek and stuff. I think Wales is filled with different symbols from the flag, the national anthem to things like castles and statues of famous people. Here we can show how rich in history Wales is through these things. Without these then we are not Welsh.

Lee suggests that flags and anthems are artificial constructions which are used to reinforce a country's history and identity. Lee's experience of living in another country has made him become more aware of national symbols but for him it is the inhabitants of that country and its history which remains significant. As he explains:

> Lee) Yes, I agree symbols are quite important to a country. They are a feature that reminds us of the country. There are lots of symbols in other countries which are important. I lived in Australia for a while and I suppose the main ones are the flag and anthem. These are everywhere. I agree to some extent that these symbols are important but there are other things which are important to the country such as the history and the people. The flags are only imaginary things. They are not really real.

As many participants commented, national symbols are displayed in a number of places, such as the media, public spaces and buildings, at sporting events and in many 'banal' settings. The participants saw flags and anthems as being fixed and unchangeable, a debate which, in turn, led on to a discussion of the changes that may occur as a result of globalizing influences.

Globalization, virtual nations and the future of land/territory

According to Beck, globalization means one thing above all else: 'denationalisation' (2000: 14). For Scholte, "the more distance and borders have disintegrated, the more national differences have seemed valuable'. He also goes on to argue that the changes

brought about by globalization have "left some people feeling torn and lost" (2000: 226). This research illustrates that globalization and the claimed erosion of national differences is a process which holds fear for many and that people will try and cling to the familiar aspects of their homeland. While this may be true for many, others embrace horizons widened by globalization. This has led some academics to begin to consider the future of nations and land/territory. Morley and Robins (1995) state that the advent of cyberspace and satellite technology means that boundaries are no longer effective as barriers to the dissemination of information and ideas. Such theories, in reflecting on life beyond the nation-state, raise the prospect of deterritorialized communities. In the focus groups I wanted to pursue the idea of life without national homelands and, more specifically, the notion of 'virtual nations'.

In order to engage the participants to talk about land/territory and national identity against the backdrop of growing awareness of globalization, I asked them to consider whether the idea of a virtual nation (see Chapter Four) that exists on the Internet could replace nations. The questions was intended to see if, for the participants, belonging needs to be rooted in a physical place, or whether, as some of the discussions of globalization suggests, people can create virtual communities. I also asked them to consider the future of nations and the extent to which the process of globalization could erode nations. A substantial majority of the young people in this study believed that virtual nations could not replace nations and held the idea of virtual nations to be outrageous. A view shared by many participants centred on the idea that virtual nations are imaginary constructs because it is the land/territory which make nations real. However, some participants believe that nations in the very distant future may not exist and argue that in the future, nations will be replaced by transnational

communities and that at the very least national differences will weaken. The comments below present a snapshot of how young people talk about the process of globalization and its impact on the relationship between the land and national identity. Adam, a participant from a school in Pontypridd, believes that due to globalization national identities and nations will cease to exist in the longer term. On a similar line Lee, who is from a Welsh-medium school in Cardiff, believes the future of nations and land/territory will be revolutionized by globalization. For him, the appeal of the nation will diminish. Lee acknowledges that 'deterritorialization', and the fact that the world is becoming more globalized and hence becoming 'smaller' will have important repercussions. As they state:

> Adam) If anything, in the future, I don't think there will be nations. If you look at any sci fi novels, it is always one people not a collection of individual people. I think it will be one body of people and not different nations. The heritage will be lost. You won't call yourself Welsh or English or Japanese.... Also with everything run by computers then our world is changing so fast, so will the idea of nations.
>
> Lee) In the end people will need more to hold on than just a flag, or anthem. I think the world of nations will change in the next 500 years or even more. You take every century, the people and the world which we live in has changed. I think we are already becoming more globalized within our world and things are seen as similar. As I have said before, we wear very similar clothes and eat similar things so if this is happening in our world today then the world will not need nations or national identity...We will be all be the same. This will obviously take thousands of years but we will still have the land, this will not go.

Hannah also believes that at some point in the future nations will disappear and this will be a result of the movement of people and information across borders and countries. Hannah also uses the language of 'deterritorialization', declaring that people will become more global in their outlook and thus nations will weaken. As Hannah describes:

> Hannah) I think in the future the nation and national identity will begin to vanish as more people travel the world and learn about more cultures and languages. I think people will be part of many nations and we will become more globally minded but the land will never disappear.... We will become so computerised that this thing called a nation will not exist.

These comments show that young people are clearly aware of globalization and the future of the nation and national identity and its impact upon land/territory. They believe that globalization will lead to various changes that will eventually impact on nations and on the importance of national identity, principally driven by technological change. Nevertheless, only a handful of participants paint such a bleak picture of the future of the nation. Even among those who perceived the process of globalization as leading to the end of the nation it was believed that this development, while inevitable, would take many years to occur. In general, while the participants accepted that changes will occur to nations they were adamant that attachments to national homelands would be sustained despite globalization. In the case of most participants there was a common view that communities and identities were based in places, and that globalization would not change this.

The idea of virtual communities encouraged a good deal of discussion, most of it on rejecting the notion that national identity will be replaced by an identification with a virtual community. Dafydd, a participant from a school in Ystrad Mynach in the south Wales valleys, argues that nations are real because they occupy physical space; to be a real community others need to recognize its existence. As with previous comments, Dafydd feels that identity is conferred by place, not chosen. In this way, the concept of a virtual community goes against fundamental elements of what they believe:

> Dafydd) Nations exist because we can see the land. A virtual nation is not real, it is something which exists on our screen. At the end of the day people can choose if you want to belong to that nation. If people want to belong to a virtual nation they can, but these people have no real identity. You cannot say on your passport you are from a virtual nation, people are always from a place and they are born somewhere, - this is your identity.

Such views about the importance of place might be expected to go against the views of young people who access information and contact friends across the world on a daily basis. Yet, though these young people are connecting with other people from all over the world by using the Internet and while they appreciate how their global links make their generation different to earlier ones, they still agree that land/territory is important to their self-identity. Thus, though the participants are locked into a global community, they still have a firm footing in local and national communities. A participant from a school in Cardiff stated: "I think our world in many years will become more global and, yes, our technology will be super, but the land will always be there and we can forget the idea of virtual nations." For an overwhelming majority of the participants, therefore, the idea of becoming more globalized seems possible due to the nature of the world in which they live, but this will not erode nations and national identities. However, the thought of entering a virtual world or nation was refuted because such virtual spaces here seem to only on the Internet. Land, or an attachment to it, is necessary for an identity in the eyes of most participants. The participants thus still retain a strong distinction between the relative significance of 'virtual' and 'real' worlds, the latter rooted in place and history. Even among an Internet literate generation, the sense that place confers identity remains strong.

The discussion on the future of the nation did not, however, focus only on the perceived affects of the technologies driving globalization. Several participants talked about having multiple identities and the idea that smaller nations, or communities will begin to disappear. A few suggested that small nations such as Wales may get subsumed into a federal Europe. Claire suggests that people in the future will feel themselves to belong to a wider community like the EU and will see themselves as also European. Yet as she explains, nations will continue to be important because of the nature of conflict in the world. Perhaps not surprisingly she links this to the events of 9/11 and argues that this has increased instability and divisions among people and thus nations, as the focus of people's loyalties, continue to survive. Apart from the events 9/11, she remarks that longstanding divisions will continue to persist. To underline her point, she comments that within the interview people stated that they felt antagonistic towards the English. As she explains:

> Claire) I think there will be bigger nations but our land will continue exist. But I don't think that Wales will exist. I think we will see ourselves as European or something. I think there is too much conflict going on in the world for nations not to exist. You take September 11th, no one thought of ever doing that to the United States. No! I don't think that this world will be one, too much going on and hatred in people. You take today, some of us even talked about hating the English.

Most of the participants remain committed to beliefs that might appear out of date with a globalizing world, but their attachments to the local and national were marked. Rachel regularly uses the Internet, to communicate with friends and family, but she does not feel that connections and relationships made in this way can form a cohesive community in the way that a nation can. As she explains:

> Rachel) As we have said you can't have a nation without land. I use the Net a lot and contact my family in Hong Kong and this is the extent to which it is easier to contact someone but I cannot virtually touch them....We may watch all these American films that say how our lives will be one day living in a virtual cyber world and having a virtual identity - but this is crap. Today

> more people are living in a global kinda world or something. People need to physically touch people at the end of the day we want to travel and go around the world not visit our computer screens.

Issues such as globalization and its consequences for smaller nations like Wales were raised with some frequency. Some participants used examples of communities becoming 'deterritorialized' to highlight the changes of globalization, but many participants continue to advocate the idea that globalization will not dramatically affect national identities. While a few expressed the view that globalization is an inevitable process which will have damaging consequences for many cultural groups, as I suggested only a handful of participants believe this will happen. In general, attachments to place, and especially to Wales, are important for the participants. As I have already noted, this maybe because many of the participants have lived most of their lives in their localities. However, it is also undoubtedly because they see others remain committed to their own nations. Even with globalization, nations continue to be a major focus of identity.

Conclusion

In the view of the majority of the participants land/territory is the single most important factor in the construction of national identity. This supports views held by Sack (1986), Gruffudd (1995) and Grosby (1995) who agree that a nation cannot exist without land/territory. When asked to specifically identify physical factors that made Wales Welsh many participants drew on references to genuine landscape features, none which could be said to be specific to Wales. The one marker that was identified which could not be found outside Wales were bilingual road signs. This may suggest that there are relatively few tangible differences to identify a specific nation. While there may not be many physical markers of a nation the participants still felt that

attachments to Wales were significant. There were a number of places to which participants felt attachments, such as place of birth, place of residence, immediate locality, town and country. Inevitably, some participants defined their attachment to land/territory with reference to the 'Other', often England. Also, national symbols play a key role in promoting national identity. As with the discussions of culture and history, when probed the participants did not have particularly detailed knowledge of what makes their nation unique. Their attachment to land/territory was based on strong emotional connections. Symbols they connected with Wales were themselves often associated with times of celebration. Attachments to homeland appear to be learned, as indeed does the idea that being born in a place gives an emotional connection to it. Even with globalization, it seems unlikely that their attachments will erode quickly.

Conclusion

The topic of national identity is not only of concern to academics but is widely referenced in public life. It is evident that among politicians, policy-makers, educators, the media and celebrities, as well as the public at large, that the issue of national identity is a subject that is of considerable interest. Within academic discussions there is a large body of work dedicated to the fields of nationalism, the nation and national identity. This literature is, for the most part, concerned with developing theoretical explanations of the structural and institutional forces which 'create' nations and national identities. There is, by comparison, a lack of empirical research regarding the ways in which individuals themselves develop and sustain their national identities. This gap in our knowledge of national identity was what provided the initial impetus for this study, with a view to contributing to discussions concerned with redressing this balance. In the literature and in wider public discourses national identity is commonly defined with reference to three core themes: culture, history and land/territory. Recognising these common threads, the thesis examined each one in turn, both in terms of the theoretical debate and also in the empirical study. Though each of the themes receives considerable attention in theoretical work, there is little by way of systematic analysis of what they mean in practice. The aim was to explore how individuals make sense of and negotiate their own national identity, drawing on the lessons from theoretical work, but from a standpoint of directly addressing the way that members of groups perceive and define their identities through social interaction and examining the institutional influences acting upon them.

The principal questions addressed in this thesis stem from the academic discussions of national identity that have been developing over the last two decades. Firstly, I wanted to ascertain what people mean when they refer to having a national identity. It is, as numerous writers suggest, often taken to be a universal feature of mankind and is discussed widely among social theorists, yet there is still little understanding of what it really means to the individual to have one. Secondly, it is very much taken-for granted that the three factors of culture, history and land/territory will contribute to a person's national identity, but I wanted to get beyond that assumption and explore what people understood by these concepts and what elements of them affected their national identity and how. In order to systematically study this question, within each chapter on each of the three basic concepts, I examined how each is seen to be shaped, reproduced and sustained. Finally, I explored each concept in relation to the phenomenon of globalization with a view to considering whether culture, history, land/territory and indeed, national identity itself will be eroded or sustained. From exploring the literature there were five basic questions which I wanted to pursue through empirical research. Firstly, what does it mean to the individual to have a national identity? Secondly, do people appreciate that national identity is a construction or do they perceive attachments to their nation, and those of others, to be beyond choice? Thirdly, how influential is culture on national identity with particular emphasis on popular culture? Fourthly, how does history inform national identity and national identity inform history? Finally, what is the significance of land/territory for national identity?

Findings and discussion

There is, arguably, a divergence in the way in which national identity is conceptualized by social theorists – that is, as a social construct, and the way in which it is portrayed by participants in social scientific research as seemingly real and objective condition. This apparent duality extends to a number of the contributing factors to national identity. Thus national history is increasingly viewed critically by historians, but for reasons explored in this thesis, is usually treated unproblematically by many people. National identity, as much as 'national culture', 'national homeland' and 'national history', is an artefact, a construct that is created and yet transformed over time and a product of the present as much as the past. Though as I have noted in the thesis, national identity is not simply produced by institutions, it is clear that social institutions play important roles in making people aware of having a national identity. In particular, their importance lies in making national identity seem a normal part of everyday life. This conception of national identity is maintained by institutions, both official and unofficial, which fuel the reproduction of national identity in the individual. The institutions that are especially important here include education systems, discussed by Gellner (1983), the state, which Brubaker (1996) concentrates on, the media which Billig (1995) sees as the major influence, and the heritage industry as examined, for example, by Macdonald and Fyfe (1996). All these institutions play their part in giving shape to the nation and national identity. From the individual's point of view informational images that come from these institutions comes into what Billig (1995) would refer to as the 'banal' context. That is, there is a constant, but subtle reinforcement of the imagery and the language of nationhood.

I have previously referred to there being two schools of thought amongst social theorists regarding the way national identity develops. The conventional mode of thought is that identity is conferred through the institutions I have discussed above. Within the literature on nationalism the dominant tendency is to see national identity as shaped by institutional processes. The more recent approach is to view national identity as constructed by the individual under the influence of various institutions, but mainly forged through a series of social interactions. This theory, expounded by writers such as Thompson and Day (1999) and Scourfield and Davies (2002), examines self perceptions, how people imagine themselves in relation to their groups and their compatriots, and, in particular, it draws upon the ways in which individuals actively construct their own national identities through their everyday lives. These two approaches to the development of national identity can, in turn, be considered as 'top down', where identity is shaped by institutions and passed on to individuals via a process of socialization, and 'bottom up' where each individual defines their own national identity, albeit within the context of wider society. I would argue that in the extant body of the literature on the nation and national identity there has been an over emphasis on the 'top down' model and too little has been placed on the 'bottom up' approach. The reality is, undoubtedly, that national identity is conferred, shaped, reproduced and sustained by a combination of both these processes. Individuals may grow up feeling themselves to belong to a group membership which they did not choose but through their interactions with friends and family, as well as in their social encounters, they also contribute to the development of their national identity.

In part, the development of national identity occurs through a process of cultural socialization. Here 'culture' in all its forms is passed on to the individual by

institutions, though primarily the media. Discussions of nationalism have primarily concentrated on 'high' culture, which has traditionally been considered as the defining national culture. However, the greater the exposure an individual has to a particular culture the greater the influence of that culture will be on his/her national identity. Today, people, especially young people, have, in general, a far greater exposure to popular culture in the form of television, film and music than they have to 'high' culture. Though, of course, most are socialized into the high culture that features in Gellner's discussion of education, social life is now driven by a greater level of consumerism than when Gellner was writing. Thus, it is, arguably, the realm of popular culture that has become the most significant for self-identity. Therefore, it would seem that popular culture is the more pervasive influence on national identity. Cultural forms are the primary conduit for globalization, both through multinational corporate products and brands, and through mass communication media in the form of film, music and the Internet. It is well documented that there is a range of commodities that have now become globalized. Moreover, it is also suggested that mass communication enables a globalization of cultures that contributes to a weakening of attachments to the nation. As I have argued throughout this thesis, however, national identity seems fairly resilient against encroaching globalization. Indeed, the perceived challenge of globalization has sparked a cultural backlash across the world, with people asserting the uniqueness of their local and national cultures in the face of globalization. A small, but interesting body of work has stressed that even in the realm of popular culture, national signifiers remain prominent. Edensor (2003), for example, is among only a handful of writers focused on the link between popular culture and national identity. Valuable as this work is, it

still does not examine in practice the extent to which popular culture informs the process of how national identity develops.

Like the matter of culture, history, and the component elements of history such as personal memories, collective memory and mythology, all play a significant part in reifying the nation. If there is a national history then there must be a nation. It is however, clear that there is no single, linear, unproblematic history. As historians have increasingly argued over the last decade, differing and often exclusive versions of history can co-exist seemingly without conflict. These contrasting accounts are imparted to us in a variety of ways, such as through the heritage industry, the media and schools. History is also being re-interpreted and re-evaluated in light of current modes of thought and political climates. Duara (1996) and Jenkins (1995), for example, see the emphasis on multiple renderings of 'history' and challenges to previously dominant accounts, as characteristic of the postmodern. While I would agree that the impact of postmodernism allows us to describe history in this way, it does not mean that plural histories are in any way strictly a modern phenomena. 'History' has always been constructed through a series of stories, narratives and discourses and open to interpretation and re-evaluation. I have shown that there are several ways in which history itself is a discursive phenomenon. Thus, I have taken examples from popular culture, government initiatives and education to show that history is being sustained despite the growing influence of globalization and that the 'national memory' and the 'national past' are, in many cases, being actively reinforced as a direct response to globalization. In this respect I share the view of Smith (1995) that in the foreseeable future the concept of a national past will not be

subsumed by globalizing forces, though how the past is defined and what is deemed as relevant for the national memory will be subject to increasing deliberation.

Homeland and territory are also central to both nationalist discourse and to national identity. Indeed, perhaps more than the other elements discussed in the thesis, without some claim to a national homeland the idea of a nation as a community seems inconceivable. Though, as Anderson (1991) points out, maps can give the effect of territory being objective, territory, as well as the more subjective concept of homeland, is a social construct. I have identified through a review of the literature four possible ways in which people form attachments to land/territory, and argue that these mechanisms and possibly others do not operate in isolation but to varying degrees shape our territorial attachment. As with 'culture' and 'history', there is an extensive literature on how territorial attachments are shaped. Yet this theoretical work needs to be developed in two respects. Firstly, by further examining how people position themselves in relation to spatial relationships on different scales, local, national and transnational. As the empirical aspect of my research shows, young people are often engaged in relationships that are not confined to their immediate locality, either through email or through consumption. Recent research has indicated that for young people their participation in globalization does not necessarily diminish their sense of local and national identity. Secondly, by exploring in greater detail the role of locality in informing identity. As the discussion in the latter part of the thesis has shown, many of the participants live a very much 'local' life in terms of contacts and mobility. If locality provides the basis of our life experiences how does it influence our sense of the world and who we are? I have suggested that locality has an important bearing on national identity, but recognition of the role of locality needs

to be developed in the theoretical work. The chief findings of my analysis of the current theory of national identity are that greater consideration needs to be given to the process of identity formation from the perspective of the individual and, following on from this, that theoretical work needs to explore the way in which 'top down' and 'bottom up' processes combine to influence national identity. No one approach should be seen as more significant than the other.

Findings from my empirical research and overall considerations

Turning to my empirical study, the methodology chosen, of using focus groups to interview young people, proved to be a highly effective method for encouraging the participants to speak freely and express opinions on their feelings towards their national identities and other related topics. This confirms what Cronin (in Gilbert, 2001) suggested that focus groups allow exploration and depth. As I have argued in Chapter Five, this methodology could be more widely employed in studies of this type, especially among children and young people. The focus group setting enabled people to talk about identity questions that might otherwise have been difficult to explore in conventional one-to-one interviews. By enabling a conversation between participants it allows the group to do the work that in other forms of interviewing has to be performed by the researcher.

Overall, this empirical study has drawn out four major findings. Firstly, the feelings of Welsh identity are extremely strong among the young people. Secondly, the participants expressed the view that a new culture has emerged in Wales, one that embraces young people. Thirdly, for the young people the relationship between globalization and national identity and the relationship between the global, local and

national, do not appear as problematic as suggested in theoretical discussions of globalization. Finally, the major influences on national identity are locality, family and friends. This is not to deny that large-scale social institutions play important roles, but it is apparent that actual experiences were cited as the principal influence.

The research was designed to encourage young people to speak about and to reflect on their national identity. Several participants said that these were issues that they had not previously considered in any detail. This would imply that national identity is such a taken-for-granted phenomenon that it does not normally have to be given any consideration. I found, for example, that the participants often remarked that they were expressing opinions which they had never previously spoken about. I wanted to understand what meanings were given to the words they used to describe their national identities, and explore what factors and influences to inform how they thought about their national identity. The findings from my research suggest indeed there is a sense that Welsh identity is having something of a revival, in large part because, for the participants, this 'new' Welshness is centred on a popular culture with which they can identify and, indeed, are proud of. The participants generally perceived that they had a greater justification to be proud to be Welsh than their parents' generation. While this is somewhat conjectural, there seems to be some credibility to it, certainly in terms of a specifically Welsh popular culture which has had a far higher profile in the last decade than hitherto.

The research underlines that people tend to see national identity as something 'real' and 'natural', with the phrase 'being Welsh is in my blood' being widely used among participants. As I pressed the participants to expand further on the nation and national

identity, many of the participants concluded for themselves that national identities are shaped rather than conferred. While references to national identity being determined by birth in a particular territory indicates a view that identification is not chosen, nevertheless discussions of cultural influences as well as the role of family and friends highlight an understanding that identity develops over time. It is in this context that discussions of 'dual or 'hybrid' identities were especially interesting, as for the majority of the participants, people should still claim only one national identity. In the case of individuals for whom there was an evident mix of national influences, either from parents or from being born in one country but growing up in another, the dominant view in the groups was that one national identity should take precedence over the other influences. Thus, while many participants were accepting of the idea of hybridity, in the end they believed that there would be always be a dominant set of national influences. Hybridity in itself could not be a basis of identity. This view also goes some way to explaining their attitudes towards globalization. That is, even if people are faced with influences that are not national, most of their lives will be within a national setting and for this reason we should not expect national identities to diminish.

The participants are all familiar with transnational products and commodities, including, most particularly, films and music. However, there was a tendency to 'flag up' specifically Welsh cultural products such as bands (for example, *The Manic Street Preachers*) and celebrity icons (such as, Anthony Hopkins). The participants viewed these as elements of a world culture, but perhaps the more underlying significance of exported Welsh bands, celebrities and films is that they make the participants feel that others too recognise Wales as a distinct place. Many participants felt that this was an

aspect of Welsh culture that their parents generation did not have. From the participants' viewpoint, a Welsh popular culture is extremely important and a major contributing factor to their national identity. From this we can conclude that a popular culture that can be seen to have a national frame of reference is a valuable resource and a defining feature of their self-identity. I did not encounter a single instance of 'high' culture being employed in this way.

This is a generation which is very comfortable using the Internet and engaging casually in global networks. The young people were generally quite familiar with the concept of globalization, but there was a strong sense that globalization will not affect national identity. What is interesting is how the participants move between local, national and global worlds and feel comfortable doing so. There are several ways in which the young people interacted on a transnational level, including through the Internet and movies and music. They also engage in national networks, such as through print media and television, while interacting in local networks of family, friends and community. For many of the young people there does not seem to be any difficulty in moving freely between the different levels. Globalization is often seen as a threat to national and local identities but this did not seem to be problematic or even an issue of concern for the young people. The discussion in the groups suggest that to some extent they do not see these as separate worlds, but instead view them 'simply' as part of their lives. The discussion of globalization was not, however, the main aim of the group and thus it would be useful to examine further young people's sense of the world, including how they find out about life beyond their localities and their country.

Perhaps the most interesting finding of my research was the number of instances in which the participants referred to the influence of locality and the people within their community on their self-identity. In discussions on history, and on land/territory the participants would almost invariably mention their local area first. Their national identity seemed to many participants to be if not secondary to their local identity, then certainly defined through the 'local'. It was noticeable how rarely any of them made reference to any history that they had learned in school; a much more commonly cited influence was family in the form of collective memories. While there was a strong feeling that Welsh history was of great importance for national identity, knowledge of specific elements of Welsh history was extremely vague and it was usually local history which was at the forefront of their minds. Similarly, in discussions of land/territory it was the locality that was highlighted primarily. Participants often spoke in terms of attachment to place and 'flagged' up friends, family and locality far more than national or generic features. They seemed to, in all discussions, make sense of locality first before national identity. Thus, participants perceived a distinction between the city of Cardiff and the south Wales valleys, and young people in both areas and both groups tended to regard the Valleys as 'more Welsh'. Cardiff, by contrast, was seen to be more cosmopolitan than the Valleys. Although the two areas are adjacent, the Valleys was seen to have a less mobile population and to be less culturally and ethnically diverse. The way in which young people interpreted the Valleys' people to be 'more Welsh', echoes the findings of Paulgaard (2002) among rural Norwegian young people who felt less affected by the 'modern world' and globalization than their urban peers.

In all discussions of national identity, culture, history, land/territory, repeated reference was made to the influence of family and friends. This, plus the emphasis on locality, seems to imply that the factors which are most influential on informing their national identities are the actual experiences and encounters that happen in their own lives, and chiefly with other people far more so than any influences imparted to them by institutions.

Further research

Within the literature on national identity much emphasis is placed on the role of education in developing awareness of the nation and in shaping national cultures. As I have suggested in Chapters One and Two, the education system is often portrayed as performing the role of an agent of national socialization. In the context of Wales recent research has begun to explore education in this manner. Thus, the work of Phillips (1998) focused on the teaching of contemporary history in the United Kingdom, and, more recently, his BRISHIN (British Island Stories: History, Identity and Nationhood) project examined the devolved nature of history teaching across the four British nations and its influence on national identity. Ongoing research funded by the ESRC carried out by Charlotte Davies and Nigel Excell at Swansea University focus on education policy and the promotion of national identity and citizenship. Both Phillips and Davies and Excell examine the Curriculum Cymreig, which has been established to further introduce a Welsh element to school education. What is missing from the current research is an examination of how education is perceived by those within the education system, especially young people's experiences of citizenship and history teaching at school and to what extent public education operates

as a 'shaper' of national identity. These questions are suggested by my findings regarding the limited knowledge of national history the young people have and yet the importance they place on national history as a formative element of their national identity.

Another area that requires further empirical work is the significance of globalization for national identity. There is a concern that globalization operates in opposition to national identity and that the strengthening of one leads to the weakening of the other. However, studies by Lemish *et al.* (1998), Livingstone (2002), Paulgaard (2002), and Kjeldgaard (2003) have shown that globalization does not necessarily weaken the influence of national culture or the saliency of national identity. My study seems to support these findings. Many of the participants did not portray the local and national as under threat from globalization. There are some studies being carried out in Britain on globalization and identity such as, for example, Jacobson (1997) on British identity and British Muslims; Gillespie (1995) on youth and television, also there is a Cardiff University project on the 'Welsh Language and Welsh Identity under Globalization'. Further research is needed to examine how young people view globalization and how they understand the ways in which it impacts on their lives.

A third possibility for future research is investigating the lives of young people in Wales. Emmett's study of young people in north Wales in the mid 1960's describes a society devoid of any home grown youth or popular culture with which her sample group could engage. This study, 40 years later, could not paint a more different picture. Wales now has a vibrant and thriving youth culture; several international bands hail from Wales and celebrate their Welshness as part of their public persona.

There are also high profile films and celebrities with Welsh roots. All of the participants in my study were aware of this culture and most found it a cause for celebration. Emmett's sample are now the older generation, whereas my sample often referred to themselves as the 'future generation'. There is very little research in Wales which addresses this age group; we know little about them, culturally, politically or socially. There are a number of universities and research establishments in Wales that have, over the years, entered into sociological research on questions of Wales and matters of identity in Wales, but only a tiny proportion addresses young people. Recently some projects have started to make inroads into this field. Scourfield and Davies's (2003) study, for example, addresses questions of national identity among children of primary school age and finds that conclusions can be drawn from even this cohort. However, this is an area where I would argue research is necessary, especially at a time of considerable cultural and political change in Wales.

Returning to the broader field of national identity, I have written about the two schools of thought regarding the shaping of national identity. That is, the 'traditional' approach of seeing national identity as being conferred on the individual by institutions and the modern, interactionist perspective which sees national identity as being negotiated and largely determined by the individual. In reality, as I have argued, the development of national identity occurs through a combination of the 'top down' and the 'bottom up' processes. Therefore, the further study which I believe is needed in this area would be work which takes a perspective that examines the individual in society and which tests the various aspects of theory, not using a 'bottom up' approach to the exclusion of the other, but investigating institutional influences and their relative input into the formation of national identity.

[i] For more details see http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/breakfast/3638032.stm

[ii] Her study involved interviewing young men living in Blaenau Ffestiniog in North Wales about their identity, leisure activities, clothing and music during 1965.

[iii] According to De Cillia *et al.* (1999) ' Critical Discourse Analysis' assumes a "dialectical relationship between particular discursive events and the situations, institutions and social structures in which they are embedded: on the one hand, the situational, institutional and social contexts shape and affect discourses; on the other hand, discourses influence social and political reality. In other words, discourse constitutes social practice and is at the same time constituted by it' (De Cilia *et al.*, 1999, Discursive Construction of National Identities, Discourse & Society, 149-173.

[iv] An American soap opera, which was made in the 1980's.

[v] Telenovelas are melodramas produced throughout Latin America.

[vi] A game show which is based on 10 strangers living together for nine weeks, their every move watched by cameras 24 hours a day.

[vii]Members of the public are abandoned on a small island. The audience votes them off one until only one remains.

[viii] A quiz show in which contestants answer questions in the hope of winning a million pounds.

[ix] The term "popular music" applies to any music in any genre from a select time frame that aspired to and achieved popularity with a particular audience.

[x] Andy Bennett's (1997) work is useful here because he explores national identity and music in Britain in the 1990's and the phenomenon 'Cool Cymru' which arose in Wales.

[xi] According to Bennett, (1997) Britpop was and is a marketing strategy to place British popular music "back in the frame" after the success of American bands such as *Nirvana and Pearl Jam* (1997:1).

[xii] The MacBraveHeart web pages are "dedicated to keeping alive the spirit of Braveheart, and to the interest in Scottish history and identity which Braveheart has helped awaken" (see www.MacBraveheart.com

[xiii] Transnational corporations set up advertising to include local markets, to sell global products, and to overcome local resistance. With the expansion of satellite systems, they promote a commercial culture throughout the world.

[xiv] St Patrick's Day has become a global phenomenon. According to the Observer newspaper (March, 16 2002) 'Tomorrow the world will turn green. Millions of people, some with only tentative third and fourth-generation links to the Emerald Isle, will pin sprigs of shamrocks on their lapels, down pints of Guinness by the gallon, dance jigs and march behind pipe and accordion bands. St Patrick's Day 2003 has become a global celebration of all things Irish. In London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester and other British cities with large Irish communities there will be parades and ceilidhs in honour of Ireland's national saint' (The Observer, Sunday March 16, 2003. The day the Earth turns green).

[xv] According to Albrow, Globalization refers to 'all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated in to a single society; global society' (1990:9)

[xvi] Transnational corporations and their activities cover many borders and contribute to globalization. Transnationalism is also associated with cultural reproduction of life styles in the form of creolization and hybridity.

[xvii] Hoskins (2002) examines the role of television in chaotic times and catastrophic events and explores to what extent has these events have changed over the past ten years. He also examines many of the contestations of television as a medium for 'memory' and 'amnesia' (2002:2). One of Hoskins foci was the TV coverage of September 11th.

[xviii] This article is taken from remarks made by President Bush to a school in Nashville, Tennessee and the information can be found http://www.whitehouse.gov.news.release/2002/09/20020917-7.html

[xix] This initiative was funded from May 2003 and will last for three years. The President has requested over $100 million to be spent to improve the teaching and understanding of American history and culture. For further details on 'We the People' see http://www.neh.gov/news/archive/20020501.html

[xx] This article called 'Our American Amnesia' written by Bruce Cole highlights very briefly some of the results found in the studies of the American public. See http://www.wethepeople.gov/newsroom/wsarticle.html.

[xxi] A virtual nation is not a real nation but can be accessed through the Internet.

[xxii] Rheingold (in Robins, 1985) defines virtual communities as the "network of relations that come into existence on the Internet bulletin boards" (1985:88).

[xxiii] According to Featherstone and Burrows, cyberspace refers to an information space "in which data is configured in such a way as to give the operator the illusion of control, movement and access to information, in which she/he can be linked together" (1985:2).

[xxiv] Now people can belong to a virtual nation. Just log onto http://www.citytel.net/~fbalazs/ and you will automatically gain access to many virtual nations. There are two nations you can join and these are called Salemmanica and Verstachia. Each has its own flag, language, history, King and Queen. This forms part of the Virtual Nation Project.

[xxv] According to Featherstone and Burrows, Virtual reality "represents the ultimate expression of this process to provide a pure information space populated by a range of cybernetic automatons, or data constructs, which provide the operator with a high degree of vividness and total sensory immersion in the artificial world" (1995:3).

[xxvi] A 3 year study (1991- September 2004) funded by the European Commission Funded Project is being carried out in Edinburgh university which is on 'Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship' exploring views and experiences of men and women aged between 18 and 24 about identity, locality, nation, and citizenship in Europe. Studies have been carried out in Europe and some parts of the UK. For more details see: http://www.sociology.ed.ac.uk/youth/people.html

[xxvii] The Welsh Joint Education Committee provides a range of educational services.

[xxviii] The original name for this is 'qualpage' and it is used for students and academics who want to find out information about using qualitative data. See http://www.qualitativeresearch.uga.edu/QualPage/

[xxix] In order to generate a discussion about national identity I placed ten cards in front of each group that showed phrases people use to speak about national identity and I asked each participant to pick one or two cards they found most suitable to the ways in which they would describe their national identity. The cards ranged from "I feel strongly about being Welsh", "being Welsh is in my blood" to phrases such as "I don't feel strongly about being Welsh". This exercise was conducted at the end of each group session.

[xxx] Sonia Livingstone and Moira Bovill carried out a study which published a report in 1999 about parents concerns over children's leisure activities and media use. The report comes from the London School of Economics and Political Science. The report can be found at :http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/media@lse/whosWho/soniaLivingstonePublications3.htm

[xxxi] A chat room is a Web site, that provides a venue for communities of users with a common interest to communicate in real time. These are areas where visitors can go to chat to other users on your site.

[xxxii] The article from *the Western Mail* (2000) listed 100 ways to celebrate Welshness and one of the features were 'you the people of Wales'. This was a popular choice among participants.

[xxxiii]www.planforwales.gov.uk/identity

[xxxiv] St Fagans –The Museum of Welsh Life in Cardiff, which opened on in 1948. It is one of Europe's foremost open air museums and it is Wales' most popular heritage attraction. The Museum shows how the people of Wales lived, worked and spent their leisure time over the last five hundred years. See http://www.gardenofwales.org.uk/historic/fagans.htm

[xxxv] The Welsh Lady is derived from the Welsh National costume which evolved in Wales in the late 18th century. It has become a popular image of Welsh "national" dress, the costume includes a woman in a red cloak and tall black hat. See http://www.wales-calling.com/culture/costume.htm

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Appendix

The use of Cards and Video used in the Focus Groups.

Listed below are the techniques that were used to stimulate discussion. Not every technique was used in every focus group.

CARD 1 – Newspaper Article 100 ways to Celebrate Welshnesss.

A newspaper article from the Western Mail which read 100 ways to Celebrate Your Welshness was used to promote a discussion about Wales. A flip chart was used to write down the ten things the groups associated most with Welshness.

CARD 2 – Famous People of Wales.

Cards giving a brief biography of famous Welsh people were used. The purpose of the exercise was for the participants to guess the famous people as starting point for discussions of culture. For example:

Person 1: Born 1969 in Swansea and moved to London at 15. After starring in a hit programme eventually moved to America. Since then has enjoyed the limelight and has married Michael Douglas and given birth to a baby boy.

Person 2: Born in Pontypridd. Originally called Tommy Woodward. Performed in many pubs and clubs around the south Wales valleys. Eventually moved to America and has lived there for over 20 years. Known as a 'sex bomb'.

Person 3: Three lads born in Blackwood. Once played at Blackwood Miners Institute. Have enjoyed success in what they do. Have travelled from Australia to Cuba. They also swept the NME awards in 1999.

Person 4: Born in 1937 in Port Talbot. Studied at the Welsh College of Music and Drama. Lived in London for a while but now lives in Hollywood. Has applied for American Citizenship. Has enjoyed endless success in films and is known for his famous role as Hannibal.

Person 5: Born 1914 in Swansea. Widely recognised as a famous poet throughout the world. One of his famous works includes 'Under Milk Wood'. This poet died in New York in 1953 at the age of 39. Catherine Zeta Jones has named her baby after this poet.

Person 6: Born in 1971 in Pontypridd. He went to Bryncelenog comprehensive school. He plays for Cardiff but used to play for Pontypridd. He is also the holder of the world points scoring record. This person has lived in Pontypridd all his life.

Person 7: Born in New Zealand, 55 years old and moved to Wales in 1998. Has links with Welsh Rugby.

CARD 3 – Postcards from Wales.

Eight postcards were used to encourage participants to discuss issues such as land/territory, history and culture. The cards were as follows:

1) Traditional South Wales
2) Welsh Legends. The Story of Saint David.
3) The Welsh National Anthem
4) Cardiff as a European City
5) Historic South Wales
6) Sheep
7) The Welsh Lady
8) The Welsh Flag.

CARD 4- Virtual Nations – Salemmanica and Verstachia.

Two cards were used to illustrate the concept of a Virtual Nation. Each card described the virtual nations as having its own King and Queen, Prince and Princess, a flag and its own history:

Card 1: Salemmanica has Queen Saalymander and King Franco.

Card 2: Verstachia has Princess Erma and Prince Nooie.

CARD 5 – National Identities.

Each participant was asked to pick one of following ten cards which best described their attitude to their national identity:

1) "I do not consider myself to be Welsh".
2) "My heart belongs to Wales".
3) "I hate being Welsh but I was born here".
4) "I am a Welsh nationalist".
5) "Being Welsh is in my blood".
6) "I feel Welsh but I am also..."
7) "I was not born here but I still feel Welsh".
8) "I am proud to be Welsh".
9) "I don't feel strongly about being Welsh".
10) "I am happy to be Welsh".

VIDEO TAPE OF WALES AND WELSHNESS

A video of an episode of the 1998 BBC series 'Scrutiny' was shown to the participants. This discussed devolution in Wales and Cool Cymru.